

WEATHER

Partly Cloudy,
Warm, Humid;
Gentle Winds

(In 2 Sections)



Vol. XXII, No. 177

Daily Worker

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Edition

New York, Wednesday, July 25, 1945

(16 Pages) Price 5 Cents

7 ENEMY WARSHIPS HIT IN RECORD RAID 2,000 Planes in Coordinated Blows



UNDER THE V SIGN. Following their victory parade through Berlin, British troops rest under a poster portraying the original Big Three.

BULLETIN

GUAM, Wednesday, July 25 (UP).—Adm. William F. Halsey's American and British carrier planes damaged seven warships, including Japan's last two known serviceable battleships, in yesterday's destructive attacks on the Kure naval base and Inland Sea, virtually wiping out the remnants of Nippon's once-powerful fleet.

Two were blasted with heavy bombs, and United Press correspondents with the carrier fleet reported that "a number" of others were set on fire. The correspondents said "many" enemy naval vessels were at Kure and thus were subjected for hours to bombing and strafing.

Climaxing a 13-day series of victories for Adm. William F. Halsey and the famous "dirty tricks department" of his Third Fleet, more than 1,000 American dive bombers, fighters and torpedo planes fought through desperate aerial opposition and ack-ack to press home their attack upon parts of Nippon's sequestered navy.

HIT SUICIDE PLANE AREA

Carrier planes attacked "virgin" target areas around Kure, including areas where the Japanese have hidden their suicide planes in preparation for an Allied invasion.

It was a day of disaster for Japan. The skies resounded to the roar of more than 2,000 American Army and Navy planes striking a seemingly coordinated blow.

Between 600 and 700 Superfortresses, attacking while Vice-Adm. John S. McCain's carrier pilots were dogfighting with reactivated Japanese interceptors, dumped a huge load of bombs on five war plants in the Nagoya and Osaka industrial areas. It was the heaviest B-29 raid yet.

Tokyo radio reported waves of Superforts hit Kobe, Okayama, Tokushima, Himeji, Wakayama and Kuwana on Honshu, and scores of Iwo-based Mustangs and Okinawa-based Army bombers and fighters struck at airfields and other targets in central Japan.

Maj. Gen. Curtis E. LeMay's Superforts smashed at the Sumitomo light metal industry plant, the Kawanishi, Nakajima and the Aichi aircraft plants. Enemy broadcasts said 30 Superforts assisted the carrier planes at Kure.

At Adak, it was disclosed officially that surface vessels of Rear Adm. John H. Brown's command had bombarded military installations and a Japanese fish cannery at Suribachi Bay at the southern tip of Paramushiro in the Kuriles, a major northern naval base.

The target area of the bombardment included two important airfields.

Tokyo radio reported three submarines bombarded Chichi Jima in the Bonin Islands southeast of Kyushu for 30 minutes Tuesday, in a follow-up attack to a shelling by both surface and underseas vessels Monday.



The Pacific Fleet has stuck its fist right inside Tokyo Bay. Map shows where enemy battleship Nagato was sunk.

BIGGEST ATTACK BY PLANES ON SHANGHAI

MANILA, Wednesday, July 25 (UP).—Nearly 350 fighters and bombers of the Far Eastern Air Force blasted Shanghai airfields and shipping on Sunday, definitely sinking three ships and probably sinking nine more, Gen. Douglas MacArthur announced today. Forty-five enemy planes were destroyed aground.

It was the war's heaviest attack on Shanghai.

Ships definitely sunk were a destroyer, a 3,000-ton freighter transport and a smaller freighter. Heavily hit and probably sunk were a destroyer escort, two sub-chasers, a 10,000-ton transport and six freighter transports.

In land fighting on southeastern Borneo the Australian Seventh Division advanced another two miles along the highway leading north from Balikpapan after driving the

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Detroit Unionists Rally for Jobs

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Bare Petain's Prewar Plot

Daladier, Reynaud Testify
Conspiracy Weakened France

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Harlem Backs Davis

Flynn Wars on Tammany
Over Designation

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Scores AMA Health Plan

Physicians Forum Favors
Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill

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Petain's Prewar Plot Weakened France's Defense

PARIS, July 24 (UP).—Marshal Henri Philippe Petain, sitting in a crowded courtroom with his accusers, today heard former premiers Paul Reynaud and Edouard Daladier assail him as a pro-Nazi plotter who weakened the defenses of France before and during the war with Germany.

Reynaud charged that Petain, "eaten by a desire for power," had been in league with the Nazis since 1934 and headed a plot to make an armistice with the Germans despite the pleas of Reynaud and others that France carry on the war from North Africa.

Daladier charged that Petain, as far back as 1934, when Hitler was rearming Germany, reduced credits for French war construction and told a Senate committee that the Ardennes sector of the frontier—where the Germans broke through in May, 1940—was fortified and that the enemy could not break through.

Daladier also testified that at the time of the armistice "more than 2,000 modern planes were ready to continue the fight in Africa and more than 1,000 planes already had gone there." He said these figures were "established" at the Riom trial during the German occupation of France, when Daladier and others were tried on war guilt charges.

Petain's reputation as "Victor of Verdun" was assailed by Reynaud as a "myth" and "sheer piffle." He charged that the Marshal long had lived under a mantle of false prestige, and that during World War I Petain had contemplated a withdrawal from Verdun, only to be checked by his superiors.

Long before the armistice, Reynaud continued, Petain tried to seize power for himself, as far back as the Place de la Concorde riots of February, 1943 [the attempted fascist putsch which was defeated by the Paris workers, led by the Communists]. He charged that Petain opposed extension of the Maginot Line along the French-Belgian frontier, a step which he said even Gen. Maxime Weygand wanted taken.

4 Japanese Warships Hit

(Continued from Page 1) enemy out of strongpoints around Mount Batochampar Saturday night.

Tokyo Tries Divisive Line

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP).—A Domesi dispatch declared today that the United States was "desperate to bring about a quick end to the war against Japan" and had opened an "all-out" military attack combined with an "extremely fierce political offensive."

The reason for American desperation, Domesi asserted, was jealousy of the Soviet Union being at peace and fear that "the United States' national power will be reduced" by a drawn-out war.

New Japanese Drive in Hunan

CHUNGKING, July 24 (UP).—Japanese troops in Hunan Province have advanced spearheads east of Liling and to the outskirts of Liuyang in a drive to widen their north-south corridor and protect their forces fleeing northward, it was reported today.

The new Japanese offensive in Hunan Province was launched at the narrowest width in the 1,200-mile north-south corridor that cuts China in two.

Barkley Calls For Charter Ratification

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP).—Sen. Alben W. Barkley (D-Ky) today called for ratification of the United Nations charter and said that the centuries-old effort to achieve lasting world peace "is worth renewing."

Barkley, Senate Democratic leader, opened the second day of Senate discussion of the treaty. Ratification is expected by the end of the week.

He reviewed the history of organized peace efforts from 545 B.C. to the League of Nations proposal after the last war.

Sen. Lister Hill (Ala), Senate Democratic whip, termed the charter "a great adventure, a great challenge, a great opportunity to strive to preserve peace and to promote the advancement of human progress throughout the world."

"When we ratify the charter we join with the other nations to do for our peace and for the peace of the world the things which we cannot do alone," he said.

Hill said it would be "foolish optimism" to think there would be no difference within the framework of an international organization.

"The issue is not whether we can do away with disagreements," he said. "It is whether we will try to solve our differences within the framework of an organization, or abandon the effort to solve those differences."

Yule Industries Is All-Vet Firm

QUINCY, Mass., July 24.—Yule Industries, Inc., founded recently to repair automobile and truck engines, is run by two disabled veterans and employs veterans in all its operations.

Maj. Douglas Yule, who was injured at Camp McCoy, Wis., and Lieut. Burl Harrison, holder of the Silver Star, who lost a leg in Tunisia, are the owners.

Employees at present total 35 veterans.

City Council Honors Chinese Communists

The New York City Council yesterday paid honor to two leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and through them to the people in China's liberated areas.

Tung Pi-wu, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and delegate to the San Francisco United Nations conference, and Chang Han-fu, editor of the New China Daily News, Chungking Communist daily, were granted privilege of the floor by unanimous vote of the Councilmen at yesterday's session.

On motion of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist, the two Chinese leaders were escorted to the Council president's rostrum. The Councilmen arose from their chairs and applauded as the two took seats on either side of acting Council chairman Anthony DiGiovanna.

"In behalf of the people of the liberated areas of China I greet you all," said Tung Pi-wu. He returned to his chair and listened with great interest to the brief Council proceedings.

Says London Poles Pressure Soldiers

LONDON, July 24 (UP).—A Foreign Office commentator said today that the British Government was investigating charges that Polish soldiers were "being hustled into a decision" by the anti-Soviet Polish military command regarding their return to Poland.

The newspaper said that although British authorities had promised transport and explained that there was no need for hurried action, the Polish command "seemed to have the intention to force the soldiers to make an immediate decision."

When the Polish soldier signs a declaration, in which he also acknowledges that he has been informed of "dangers awaiting me in Poland in event of my return," the Times said, he is sent to a camp near Dunfermline, Scotland, "where in isolation he has to wait for transport home."

"As no arrangements for the return of the army have been even tentatively made, the prospect of spending months in a camp of such character is a form of propaganda against the return home of Polish soldiers," the Times said.

The newspaper also asserted that "Polish quarters in London had noted" that the defunct London Polish government "was carrying out its plan to continue underground resistance" and that a new propaganda agency called "Swiatpol" had taken over Polish Ministry of Information activity in Scotland.

(The Soviet News Agency Tass, in a dispatch from Warsaw, quoted Polish Premier Edoard Osubka-Morski as saying that there were remnants of hostile armed groups still operating in the country but that the government would not punish them if they laid down their arms voluntarily.)

'Big 3' Awaits Election Results

POTSDAM, July 24 (UP).—The Big Three conference will recess tomorrow to learn the outcome of Britain's elections, to be announced Thursday, but President Truman and Premier Stalin will continue their talks next week regardless of who wins the British race, it was learned authoritatively today.

The British announced officially today that Churchill was going to London for Thursday election results, but added the "Berlin conference" would not end.

Churchill plans to leave Wednesday for London, and if he wins the election he is expected to return by Friday, when the Big Three will resume its meetings.

Begins Sunday

A new novel—*Just Love*—by Wanda Wasilewska begins in The Worker Sunday, and will continue serially in weekly installments. You will find the first chapter of this thrilling new novel by the author of *The Rainbow* in the Magazine Section of The Worker this Sunday.

HEARING SET

A resolution, also sponsored by majority members, calls for a cost-of-living salary increase to all substitute teachers, clerks and other per diem employees of the Department of Education. A hearing on this measure by the city affairs committee is also scheduled for the afternoon of Aug. 2.

Also received by the Council and sent to the city affairs committee is a resolution by Councilman Quill calling for an immediate investigation by the Board of Education into charges of anti-Semitism preferred by 14 teachers against May Quinn, teacher in P.S. 227.

The charges, the Quill resolution points out, were made in January, 1943, and no action on them has yet been taken. Councilman Quill stated an immediate hearing should be held on the charges and if the teacher is found guilty she should be dismissed. The next regular Council meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, Aug. 7.



A three-way handclasp symbolizes the unity of the Big Three. The picture was taken just before a dinner party at Churchill's quarters at Potsdam.

Council Backs Quill On City Wage Raises

Increased wages for three categories of city employees were sought yesterday through a series of bills introduced in the City Council by majority members of the body.

The first bill calling for a boost in wages of correction department guards through \$200 yearly increments, is a rewrite of a bill introduced earlier by Councilman Michael J. Quill, Bronx Laborite. The Quill bill has been held up in committee by majority maneuvering.

The measure, now introduced with majority backing, would set the minimum **QUILL** yearly wage for correction department guards at \$2,000 with a maximum of \$3,000. Wages for these employees now range from \$1,740 to \$2,400.

A second bill would give all city employees receiving from \$1,800 to \$4,800 and who are not in a category to be paid increments a yearly increment of \$150.

The third bill would bring salaries of all employees in the laboring class up to \$2,280 through \$120 yearly increments.

Council vice-chairman Joseph T. Sharkey announced the civil service bills will be considered at a public hearing called by the finance committee Thursday, Aug. 2, at 2 p.m., in the Council chamber.

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Japan Bombing To Top Reich's

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP).—Appointment of Lt. Gen. Nathan F. Twining as commander of the 20th (Superfortresses) Air Force was announced today by Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, who also revealed that U. S. airmen soon will be bombing Japan at a rate greater than that against Germany.

Twining, commander of the 15th AAF in the Mediterranean, will replace Maj. Gen. Curtis E. Lemay, effective Aug. 1. Lemay becomes chief of staff to Gen. Carl A. Spaatz, commander of strategic air forces in the Pacific.

Eaker, deputy commander-in-chief of army air forces, also told a news commentator that:

1. The Army has cancelled orders for 44,300 planes scheduled for production this year.

2. The Army will use 2,130,000 air force personnel against Japan.

3. B-29 production has not been increased because losses have been lower than expected.

4. Japan eventually will feel the weight of 270,000 tons a month. The most ever dropped on Germany was 185,000.

USSR Now Leads in French Opinion Poll

Only 38 percent of Frenchmen are satisfied with the United States' conduct, 45 percent with Britain's, while 71 percent are satisfied with the Soviet Union's. This is the result of a French Institute of Public Opinion poll announced in Paris Monday.

The downward swoop of American prestige, especially as compared to the Soviet Union's, is contrasted in the poll's questionnaire with last year's expectations of help to France.

A year ago 57 percent of those polled expected most from the United States, 23 percent from Britain and 14 percent from the Soviet Union.

This year 54 percent were disappointed in the United States, 45 percent in Britain and 12 percent in the Soviet Union.



Now they'll see how the other half fights. These Yanks have just landed in the Philippines fresh from Leghorn, Italy. It was a 40-day voyage.

Harlem Leaders, Union Heads Back Nomination of Davis

Harlem leaders from all walks of life and leaders of some 50 CIO unions and joint boards, as well as some AFL locals, yesterday backed the action of the Manhattan Democratic committee in nominating Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., for reelection, and urged it to stand fast against the pressure of red-baiters to drop the designation.

There was no verification of a report that District Attorney William F. O'Dwyer, Democratic-American Labor Party designee for mayor, had urged New York county leader Edward V. Loughlin to reverse himself on the Davis nomination, though it was known that powerful influences were being exerted in that direction.



BEN DAVIS, JR.

Among those who spoke up yesterday were Harlem leaders of all political persuasions. They included the executive committee of the North Harlem Dental Society and its president Dr. Arnold Donawa; the president of the Harlem Bar Association, the editor of the New York Age, leaders of every major Negro organization, an outstanding minister, one of the most prominent Negro Republicans and numerous Negro trade union officials.

WIRE LOUGHLIN

About 200 local affiliates representing close to 400,000 workers were included in the 50 CIO joint boards and unions that sent wires to Loughlin.

The executive committee of the Harlem Dental Society, meeting yesterday, unanimously decided to congratulate Loughlin on his "far-reaching, constructive and unifying decision." Dr. Donawa, its president, maintained that Davis' Communist views were not the issue.

"He is still the choice of the people," Dr. Donawa said, "not only of his own particular group but of Democrats, Republicans and laborites."

The Negro Labor Victory Committee, headed by Charles Collins of Local 6 of the powerful Hotel and Club Employees Union (AFL), sent a wire both to Loughlin and O'Dwyer urging them to stand fast against any efforts to panic them in a direction the reactionary Republican-Liberal Party alliance would want to go. It told them the Harlem Community stood solid behind Davis and no effort to split it would be successful.

The leaders of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, speaking for the union's 16,000 members, also got in touch with Loughlin and O'Dwyer congratulating them for designating

Davis and urging them to stand fast behind it.

Albert C. Gilbert, president of the Harlem lawyers' organization, speaking as an individual, said he was planning to wire Loughlin to the effect that it was in the interests of the people of the entire city that the Democrats continue to back Davis.

Raymond E. Jones, Harlem Democratic leader of the 13th district east, insisted it was essential to elect a Negro to the City Council.

"We could not elect a Negro from Harlem without the support of the progressive forces of labor," Jones said. "They came to the aid of Clayton Powell in 1941 and of Ben Davis in 1943. Davis has served well these two years. He has made a splendid record and we intend to continue him in office."

Ludlow Werner, editor of the Republican New York Age, maintained that his opposition to Communist was well-known but that being a Communist "does not preclude" a councilman from being a good representative of the people.

On the basis of his record, Werner said, the Age has been urging Davis reelection irrespective of party label. The Age has asked the GOP to back Davis, too.

The National Negro Congress wired Loughlin that the overwhelming majority of the Negro people are behind Davis and will not be misled by red-baiting.

"His reelection will be a decisive factor in polling a majority vote for O'Dwyer in Harlem," Thelma Dale, executive secretary, told Loughlin. It urged him to stick by the designation and pledged backing both to Davis and O'Dwyer.

The Rev. B. C. Robeson, a leading minister, said he was glad that Davis received Democratic endorsement and urged that wires be sent to the Democratic leaders telling them to "stick by their endorsement."

The People's Voice, leading Negro newspaper last night carried statements of support for Davis from Dr. Channing Tobias, prominent Republican leader; Edward Lewis, executive secretary of the Greater New York Urban League and James Egert Allen, president of the New York State National Association for the Advancement of Negro People.

Dr. Tobias said: "The Harlem community is not going to be jockeyed into the untenable position of repudiating a highly effi-

Navy Broadcast Hints Japan Can Keep Emperor

By ART SHIELDS

WASHINGTON, July 24.—Fears that the Navy wants the imperial form of government to continue in Japan after unconditional surrender are aroused by a careful reading of the series of 12 broadcasts to Tokyo that Capt. E. M. Zacharias, official Navy spokesman, finished last Friday. The text of the first 11 broadcasts, which have been running since May, have just become available through the Office of War Information.

Zacharias, which no one can dispute. The danger is that the official Navy spokesman seems to consider former representatives of the big industrial monopolists in the Japanese government to be capable of giving that kind of leadership.

This danger seems very obvious when Capt. Zacharias continually puts forth the hand of friendship to Suzuki, the fascist Premier.

QUOTES ITO

Zacharias actually calls Suzuki a friend in a left-handed way, when he says that if he should write to Suzuki he could hardly express himself with "greater eloquence and clarity" than by quoting what a Japanese admiral, Ito, wrote to a Chinese admiral, Ting, whose surrender he desired in the war of 1859.

The "brave man," who once defied a group of assassins, should not yield to "pressure" from bad advisers, opposing peace, says Capt. Zacharias.

No government spokesman would have dared to speak in that way of Goering or Goebbels, about whom the American public was much more alert.

The reference to the imperial family was significant though slight. It appears in Zacharias' opening broadcast on May 5 (repeated May 6 and 7), when he reminds the Japanese that "their imperial highnesses, prince and princess Takanatsu, will recall, when, as their aide-de-camp, I accompanied them during their tour of two months in the U. S. in 1931."

MANY FRIENDS

The names of the imperial highnesses follows a listing of many Japanese leaders, including Suzuki, whom Zacharias had had friendly dealings with during the last 20 years in Tokyo and Washington, while in service with the Navy.

The official Navy spokesman tries to separate the "militarist" goats like Tojo from the Matusmotos, Wakatsugis, Debuchis, Yenais, Saitos and many other Japanese leaders he knew in the past.

"Loyal, intelligent and inspired leadership is needed in Japan," says

Zacharias. Which no one can dispute. The danger is that the official Navy spokesman seems to consider former representatives of the big industrial monopolists in the Japanese government to be capable of giving that kind of leadership.

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"But warfare today is between states, and does not necessarily mean enmity between individuals," wrote the Japanese admiral, "it follows therefore that the feeling between your excellency and ourselves is as sincere now as in the past."

As a "sincere friend," therefore, Ito urged the Chinese to surrender.

No American leader would have dared call either Hitler or Goebbels a friend.

Then the meaning of "unconditional surrender" seems to dissolve as the broadcasts continue. But in the 11th broadcast Zacharias is telling Japanese leaders that the American peace formula need not mean humiliation.

Zacharias attacks the Japanese alliance with German Nazis, but never mentions Japanese fascism. Nor does he at any time suggest a people's uprising.

FRIENDLY TO MIKADO

The official Navy spokesman's attitude toward the Mikado seems to follow the thinking of Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew, who is reported in the latest issue of David Lawrence's United States News as saying that the Mikado "did not want war with the United States."

Such playing with Japanese fascism is playing with the fires of another world war.

Flynn Fights Loughlin Over Davis

Bronx Democratic boss Edward J. Flynn has moved into Manhattan in an effort to try to take over control of the Democratic organization in that county.

On Monday, Flynn met with five Tammany district leaders to plan a fight to remove the current Democratic leadership in the county and to substitute a group that will be sympathetic with Flynn's aims.

The specific issue on which they met to develop a campaign to unseat Edward V. Loughlin, Manhattan Democratic leader, was the designation for re-election by the Democrats of Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist leader.

But four of the five leaders involved have been fighting Loughlin for some time and were involved in the effort of anti-Roosevelt elements to take over Tammany Hall before the elections last year.

These four are George W. Thompson, of the 6th A.D.; Joseph H. Broderick, of the 7th A.D.; Fred D. Dickens, of the 11th A.D., and Herbert L. Bruce, of the 12th A.D. The fifth leader to see Flynn was Michael J. Kennedy, former leader of Tammany and erstwhile bitter foe of George W. Thompson. Evidently, after being unseated as Tammany leader, Kennedy joined the opposition.

Flynn's purpose in trying to take over control of the Manhattan organization is twofold. First, he is fighting for control of the State Democratic organization in order to destroy the progressive coalition of Democrats and labor, which alone can defeat Deweyism in the State; second, he wants to control the judicial district, which comprises Manhattan and the Bronx, in order to get his men named as candidates for the Supreme Court. A judicial convention is scheduled to be held between Aug. 7 and 10, at which nominations to fill two expected vacancies will be made. Flynn wants

them both for the Bronx. It is believed Flynn's efforts to force Tammany to recant on the Davis designation, are also influenced by the fact that, if successful, they may cost O'Dwyer a great many votes among the Negro people and some votes among progressive trade unionists. Davis has the virtually solid backing of the Negro people and a strong following among many trade unionists.

Says AMA Health Plan Undermines Social Security

Objections by the American Medical Association to the federal health plan outlined in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill were branded yesterday by the Physicians Forum as "an attack upon the whole concept of social security."

Oust Franco, Pastors Urge

Warning the Big Three that whatever had been achieved at Potsdam "will be undone if Franco or any monarchial substitute is permitted to remain in Spain," Kenneth Leslie, editor of *The Protestant*, a non-sectarian religious publication, and national chairman of the Ministerial Associates of *The Protestant*, sent a cable yesterday to the Big Three in Potsdam appealing to them "to destroy this infamy now and forever."

The Ministerial Associates of *The Protestant* number 5,000 ordained Christian ministers pledged to fight fascism at home and abroad.

Mr. Leslie's cable states that the "people, not only in that tortured peninsula, but in the whole of Europe, will not be deceived by any 'legitimacy' or 'constitutional monarchy' that can live in harmony with the clerical and big business forces which produced the fascism of Franco and will—if permitted to exist—prepare for new and more horrible conflicts."

Report Allies Nab Vittorio Mussolini

LONDON, July 24 (UP).—The Swiss radio quoted advices from Italy today as reporting that Vittorio Mussolini, son of the late Benito Mussolini, had surrendered to the Allies.

The Exchange Telegraph reported from the Italian-Swiss frontier that young Mussolini was "found" by Allied troops and was now in a concentration camp under American and British supervision.

Police Chief Fixes A Taxpayer's Pan

FREEPOR, Ill., July 24 (UP).—Police chief J. H. Schwaiger got a chance to do a little panning at a taxpayers expense today.

Percy Fleek, a Freeport resident, telephoned Schwaiger from Belvidere, Ill., where he was tending to business, and asked the chief to go an emergency to his home.

"Please put a pan under my icebox," Fleek said.

Schwaiger did.

Missouri's Forest Land

Forests and brush-covered land total 19,142,000 acres of Missouri's 44,292,000-acre land area, according to the State Conservation Commission.

SONGS OF DEVOTION
with Fred Waring Glee Club & Orch.
Including:
Outward Christian Soldiers
Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen
Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless
Child • Ave Maria
5 10-inch record Album — \$3.15



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Dr. Ernst P. Boas, chairman of the Forum, called AMA's specious 14-point plan to replace the health provisions in the bill as attempt "to stymie adequate national health security by the use of delaying tactics, by impractical generalities and by contradictions."

The Forum holds that AMA's plan is a scheme to destroy the health insurance provisions in the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill which calls for the extension of social security, hospital constructions, child and maternal welfare, disability insurance and promotion of medical research.

The AMA program, as related in the press, failed to mention the important provisions of the proposed measure, said Dr. Boas. Instead it is carrying on a campaign against the bill with its typical shouts of "regimentation and totalitarianism."

The AMA, whose leadership represents reactionary medical groups, is supporting a plan, according to its own statement, with "provisions of hospitalization and medical care to the indigent by local authorities, under voluntary hospital and sickness insurance plans." The AMA specifies that its voluntary program "need not involve increased taxation."

REJECTS ARGUMENTS

Such arguments are contrary to all known experience, Dr. Boas explained. "There are hundreds of communities with inadequate hospital facilities and an undersupply of physicians, and there are millions of people living in these communities who cannot meet the expense of the voluntary health plan."

"Public funds, whether raised through general taxation or through social security payments," said Dr. Boas, "must be used to build hospitals and health centers and to pay for the cost of medical care for millions who cannot afford it."

Pointing out that the AMA misrepresents the contents of the bill, Dr. Boas said that the AMA's recommendation for surveys and studies is one aspect of the delaying tactics.

"The AMA fails to mention that the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill provides funds for the states to make studies wherever necessary." The AMA also fails to mention that the bill provides grants-in-aid to the states to be used by local health authorities.

Dr. Boas is particularly sharp with the AMA's recommendation to "postpone" the problem of reintegration of 60,000 physicians into civilian practice.

To leave the problem until some unmentioned postwar period can only lead to chaos, asserted Dr. Boas.

The Forum, which is a national organization of doctors concerned with the quality and widest possible distribution of medical care in the country, has just issued a 16-page pamphlet, *For the People's Health*, dealing with the whole problem of Federal health.

Trillion Signatures By Morgenthau

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP).—Currency and bonds with a face value of more than \$1,228,000,000,000 were produced over the signature of former Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., during his 11½ years in office, it was disclosed today.



John W. Snyder, new Director of War Mobilization, takes the oath of office on the White House grounds.

Both Parties Callous On FEPC, Says PAC

The National Citizens Political Action Committee charged today that both the Democratic and Republican parties displayed "callous indifference toward the democratic principle of equal job opportunity" during the fight in Congress on FEPC opportunities.

In identical letters to Robert Hannegan and Herbert Brownell, chairmen of the Democratic and Republican national committees, Citizens PAC demanded that the two major parties stop pussey-footing on the issue of racial and religious prejudice.

Signed by chairman Elmer Benson of Citizens PAC, the letters proposed that the Democratic and Republican parties call special meetings of their national committees and "declare publicly their support" for a permanent FEPC.

Citizens PAC also forwarded to Hannegan and Brownell a statement warning of renewed anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-Catholic propaganda, singling out Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D-Miss.) for his attacks on minority groups.

PAC is sending its demand for action to the governors of all states, members of Congress and to all members of the Democratic and Republican national committees and to chairmen of state committees.

South African Father of 29

CAPETOWN, South Africa, July 24 (UP).—H. M. Ebrahim, 69, four-times married resident of Cape Town, recently became the father of a 29th child, making him the head of the largest family in South Africa, it was learned today. Twenty of the children are living.

One of the great moments of his life, Ebrahim said, came when the government presented him with a large income tax refund he had overlooked for some years. He learned, then for the first time, that a substantial rebate is allowed for every child.

Filipinos Gouged In Labor Racket

MANILA, July 24 (UP).—The Hawaiian Government's request for 6,000 Filipino laborers has resulted in a new racket in the Philippines provinces, Presidential Secretary Jose Reyes reported today.

"Labor contractors," carrying letters of authority ostensibly issued by Reyes, have been signing up laborers. They collect 30 or 40 pesos from each Filipino who agrees to go to Hawaii and then disappear from the neighborhood, Reyes said.

Change the World

Let Dialect Stories Die Out

by Mike Gold

LET me put in a word for a poor sinner who did not mean to do wrong. Life is so full of bumps and mistakes and we must learn to differentiate between some guy who slips on a banana peel like Johnny Meldon and some enemy deliberately kicking humanity around.

Comrade Meldon records his impressions of New York in a Daily Worker column. Last week he wrote about some Jewish ladies in a style which angered some readers of the paper. What was his crime? Johnny had the ladies talking in a dialect unfunny as the disgusting Mr. Harry Hershfield.

I don't know why dialect stories are so offensive, but they always are. Jewish comedians tell such stories about Jews, Negro comedians about Negroes, Swedes, Scotch, Irishmen about their own compatriots. But the total effect generally has the flavor of racist provocation. In our dangerous Nazi-infected time, this type of humor is like matches lit near a gas-tank.

Such stories tend to build up a pattern of contempt in the minds of the listener. In Germany nothing was more popular among the Nazi swine than Jewish dialect stories. Harry Hershfield could have reaped a fortune there on stage, radio and press. I swear I heard one of his "jokes" repeated over the radio by a blubbery Nazi actor.

Negro dialect yarns are the favorite fodder of Ku Klux loafers in southern barber shops and pool halls. The white gangsters feed their own stupidity and racial pride in mulling over the alleged humor of being colored. It's all done in broad dialect too—without that, the point would be lost.

Let this dialect stuff die out, friends. It is always comedy. If humor must depend on mispronunciation, or misspelling, or the twists of dialect, then it cannot be more than juvenile and shallow.

As for the problem of reproducing the language of people of different stocks when writing fiction or reporting, it seems to me that even here dialect is unnecessary. Nobody does his thinking in dialect. The immigrant thinks in his own native tongue and does it clearly enough. It is only when he has to translate his thoughts into an unfamiliar speech that the quaintness and the grotesqueries creep in.

Have you ever traveled in a foreign land and tried to speak the language? In Russia, France and other places where I tried to make myself understood, I always arrived at the ultimate feeling that I was feeble-minded. The natives smiled at me tolerantly; maybe they went home and wrote humorous columns about the way I had mangled their language.

The Daily Worker, inflexible champion of American race equality, has long banished dialect stories from its pages. Meldon, as I have stated, merely slipped up on a casual peal. He really knows how to stand upright. Some of his best friends, including his charming wife, are Jewish. He will never tell a Jewish dialect story again. Nor will I ever relate humorous incidents in a painful Irish brogue. We are all going to lead better lives from now on. Dialect is out, with the funny racist story with a secret poison in its tail. People are people, and if you can write about humanity with compassion and understanding it will not need dialect to make you succeed.



Rival Negro, White Boys' Clubs Form Joint Body

Members of upper West Side boys' clubs, whose open street fights have kept the neighborhood in the vicinity of 152 St. and Broadway astir for months, elected a joint committee at a conference in a storefront room at 150 St. and Broadway Tuesday night and instructed it to work out ways and means of eliminating such differences as have led to clashes among rival clubs.

Nearly half the youngsters, ranging from about 12 to 17 years of age, were the very Negro boys east of Broadway whom the white boys said in an interview with the Daily Worker recently they could not get along with.

The conference was called by the 30th Precinct Coordinating Council, 152nd St. and Amsterdam Ave., supported by this newspaper and the Peoples Voice.

Following election of the committee from the three rival clubs, officers of the Coordinating Council discussed with representatives of the Daily Worker and the Peoples Voice plans for a mass meeting community leaders, including leaders of the boys' clubs, for early September.

The purpose of the meeting as outlined to Miss Dorothy A. Castor, secretary of the Coordinating Council, would be to work out a community program embracing activities for the hundreds of Negro and white boys and girls who are now kept antagonistic by housing and other conditions.

Patrolman William Lambert, representing the 30th Precinct Station on the Coordinating Council, reported that a room 50 by 80 feet had been acquired on the second floor above a store between 150th and 151st Sts. as permanent club quarters for the young people. He suggested that it be formally opened on the evening of the proposed mass meeting.

Theft of Gas Stamps Rising

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP).—

The OPA tonight warned all service station operators to be on the lookout for organized racketeers who are stealing gasoline ration coupons and selling them on the black market.

The gangs have found that their counterfeiting racket no longer pays off, and have turned to the theft of valid stamps, OPA said. They are thus draining off five percent of the gasoline supply.

District offices are now insisting that dealers applying for rations to cover losses from thefts show that the thefts occurred despite all reasonable precautions.

Hit WLB Approval of MESA Pact to Fire Women First

DETROIT, July 24.—The executive board of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, at its recent meeting in Minneapolis, protested the Regional War Labor Board's readiness to dump women workers first when layoffs occur. The UAW board attacked an "arrangement" between the Michigan Tool Co. and the Mechanic Educational Society of America (led by Matt Smith) to set up two separate seniority lists for men and for women, thereby practically barring women from industry. The Regional WLB blessed the arrangement.

The UAW board declared the arrangement would establish a means to destroy workers' seniority altogether. It declared it would fight this case even though it involves another union.

Louis C. Miriani, chairman of the Eleventh Regional Board, hastened to explain that the case "establishes no policy or precedent." However, he praised the MESA and the company for such amicable disposal of issues, asserting:

"We wish more companies and unions would join in settling their grievances so sensibly."

Prior to the arrangement between Michigan Tool and MESA, men and women were on the same seniority list. Miriani justified the new arrangement by stating that the product the company "expects" to produce after the war involves parts weighing 20 pounds, and therefore the "company feels that male employees will have a productivity advantage."

CPA Expels Jack Asch

Jack Asch, former member of the Chelsea Club, CPA membership secretary and treasurer, was expelled from the organization by unanimous vote of the membership of that club and decision was upheld by the CPA New York County Committee. It was announced by the New York State CPA board.

Charges were misappropriation of funds and acting in a manner incompatible with membership in a working class organization. Asch admitted these charges at a meeting of the club's executive committee of the Club, the State CPA declared.



Turn and turn about is the order of the day on this troop train as Pvt. Victor Wunderlich routes T-4 Bill Yeakum, Spur, Tex., from the berth they alternately occupy. The "rotation sleeping" plan is the Army's latest attempt to solve the acute shortage of Pullmans for GIs.

Courtney Ward May Fight Ouster in Courts

By BETTY RILEY

CLEVELAND, July 24.—Legal action to regain his seat in the Cleveland Federation of Labor is being investigated by Courtney D. Ward, secretary, Painters District Council 6, who was unseated by the CFL last week upon the instigation of William Green, president of the AFL.

Ward contends that this action harms his union financially, that they pay per capita and that one of their duly elected delegates is denied representation by the CFL. He may also file charges of damage to his character. He is consulting the law firm of Harrison & Marshman, well known for their legal work for the Little Steel strikers. Three local newspapers have given a big play to charges made by Ward that the CFL leadership was glad to find an excuse to expel him. Ward stated he had been demanding a financial accounting from CFL officials for months without getting any answer. "Let's look into the constitution of the AFL and find their regulations on quarterly audits," Ward demands. He further charges that no accounting has been made of the income from the quarterly souvenir books issued by the local Federation.

"This Cleveland Federation quarterly has an advertising income of approximately \$8,600. Where is the accounting for the funds?" he asks.

WIDE SUPPORT FOR WARD

Painters District Council officers report that support for Ward's reinstatement is widespread and vocal. Their phone is kept busy with calls of encouragement, urging Ward to fight through to the finish.

A conference of match workers sent endorsement of the Sunday conference to Ward and an order for his pamphlets (*One World of Labor*) to be sent to each of the federal locals of the match workers. Funds for this order were voted by the conference.

Rumors are current that CFL leaders feel shaky about the action against Ward. An official close to the top CFL leaders is reported to have said that this action was a mistake. "Lenehan and Finegan got us out on a limb," he is quoted as saying.

Thomas Quinn, president, Toledo Central Labor Union, told the delegates Sunday: "Bill Green laid down the line to us two weeks ago in Toledo. We told him to keep his fingers out of the Toledo AFL movement and we haven't been bothered since then." Quinn asserted they hadn't been deterred in the election campaign by Green and company and didn't intend to be stopped on world labor unity.

Communists Mourn Death in Battle of Lt. Frank Wiseman

Information has just been received from the War Department that Lt. Frank Wiseman, son of Sam and Anne Wiseman, was killed in action over Germany on March 15.

Lt. Wiseman was 22 years old. He had been a student in City College about four years ago. He enlisted as a member of the ROTC. For one year he was flying as a navigator, and was very popular with the men.

Wiseman grew up in a Communist family. His father, Sam Wiseman, is a member of the New York State Board of the Communist Political Association and leader of the Association in Manhattan, and has long been a fighter in the ranks of the people. He is well known for his leadership in the Workers Alliance. Young Wiseman, as a boy, was a member of the Young Pioneers and later joined the Young Communist League and the Communist Party.

He is survived by his widow, Evelyn, who is a member of the Communist Political Association.

A statement issued by the New York State Committee of the Communist Political Association declares that "The death of young Wiseman is again an answer to the enemies of the people who contend that the Communists are not patriotic and are doing everything in man was only one of many."



LT. FRANK WISEMAN

their power to overthrow the United States government.

"It is a further vindication of the fact," declares the statement, "that Maj. Gen. Bissell was absolutely correct when he declared that the Communists do advocate the use of force and violence against the fascist enemies of our country."

The record and activity of Lieut. Wiseman in the Communist ranks, as well as in the United States Air Force, is an answer to all critics of the Communists; and young Wiseman was only one of many.

Ousted UAW Men Lead Wildcat Wright Strike

Company provocation, John L. Lewis' "catch-all" Dist. 50 and a group of union officials recently ousted for stealing funds, were seen yesterday behind the wildcat strike which crippled the Wood-Ridge, N. J., plant of the Wright Aeronautical Corp. The walkout began to affect the Paterson plant, too.

The company is one of the most important manufacturers of engines for B-29 bombers.

The walkout, which began with dismissal of a shop steward Friday following an exchange of some words with the foreman, was declared unauthorized by president John McGrail of Local 669, United Automobile Workers, as he appealed at a membership meeting that the strikers return.

The walkout is led by the "Committee of 34," which represents the 34 men ousted by a UAW international trial committee for embezzling tens of thousands of dollars over a period of several years.

They are also due to answer charges tomorrow on an indictment of the Passaic County Grand Jury. Meanwhile, the group raised the slogan of "autonomy" and war against the AFL's international office. Plans to split away their supporters from Local 669 and take them into Lewis' District 50 are freely discussed among "Committee of 34" supporters.

Led by Al Capone and George Tremper, respectively the ousted president and financial secretary, the group, in addition to milking the treasury of the organization of 20,000 members, was noted for its frequent violation of the no-strike pledge and red-baiting.

Whether by a direct secret understanding with the "Committee of 34" or not, the company's policy of taking advantage of the group's disruption is obvious. The deliberate provocations and refusal to recognize stewards on grievance matters is particularly apparent. The ousted elements bank on playing upon those provocations to parade as "champions" of abused workers. They are also trying to capitalize on the slowness in negotiations for a new contract by raising the slogan of "no contract, no work."

The extent of their actual support cannot be measured from the number staying away from work. A

USSR Unionists To Visit Chicago

WASHINGTON, July 24 (FP).—The 10 delegates of the USSR trade unions now visiting the United States will leave here tomorrow to visit Chicago packing houses and auto and farm equipment plants. Part of the group will then go next Saturday to Duluth, Minn., while others will proceed to Detroit.

After inspecting Detroit's warplants Tuesday and Wednesday, July 31 and Aug. 1, the visitors will go to Philadelphia to see hosiery and other industries there, making a side trip Aug. 2 to Atlantic City, N. J., to meet with the executive board of the United Steelworkers (CIO).

On Aug. 5, 6, 7 they will be in New York, looking over clothing, precision instruments and industrial plants before leaving for Pittsburgh. Later plans are expected to take them to Canada as guests of the Canadian Trade Union Congress.

CIO vice-President Allan S. Haywood said he expected that the CIO would send an exchange delegation of CIO leaders to the Soviet Union soon to inspect Soviet production methods and talk to the members of the trade unions there.

Philip Murray, CIO president, suggested the exchange of delegations last June 4 and extended similar offers to the trade union movements of both France and Great Britain through Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, and S. Louis Saillant, secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail.

picket line at plant gates and extensive floods in the area are factors. The UAW's international executive board, now in session at Minneapolis, may intervene.

In Unity There Is Always Strength



Any union man will tell you that. That's why labor always gets our united support.

And the strength of the DAILY WORKER and THE WORKER lies in their unity with their readers. We've

known that ever since we went into business. And so have our readers, who've demonstrated it year after year. Well, this is another year, and the unity needs another job of rethinking, so . . . pitch in!

DAILY WORKER, 50 E. 13 ST., NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Your confidence is fully justified. Here is \$-----.

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Daily Worker

PUBLISHED DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAY BY THE
FREEDOM OF THE PRESS CO., INC., 50 East
13th St., New York 3, N. Y. Telephone ALgonquin
4-7854. Cable Address: "Dailwork," New York, N. Y.
President—Louis F. Budenz; **Vice-Pres.**—Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; **Secretary-Treasurer**—Howard C. McMillan

(Except Manhattan, Bronx, Contra and Foreign)	5 Months	6 Months	1 Year
DAILY WORKER AND THE WORKER	\$3.75	\$4.75	\$12.00
DAILY WORKER	3.00	3.75	10.00
THE WORKER	1.50	1.50	2.50
(Manhattan and Bronx)			
DAILY WORKER AND THE WORKER	\$4.00	\$7.50	\$14.00
DAILY WORKER	3.25	6.50	12.00
THE WORKER	1.50	1.50	2.50

Registered as second-class matter May 2, 1942, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1875.

BIG JOB TO DO



Between the Lines

More About Braden Copper

by Joseph Starobin —

THE case of the 500 miners who lost their lives in an explosion at the Camp Sewell mine of the Braden Copper Co. in Chile is reaching a wide American public in a very peculiar form. You may recall a piece by myself in last Sunday's Worker exposing the facts about the mine disaster. It was a horrible example of what American imperialism means to the humble people who have to face it in their own homelands.

I thought we had something of a "scoop" there. But it appears that the Farrell-Peron government of Argentina is exploiting this same case to attack the American ambassador, Spruille Braden.

The Argentine minister of labor, Juan Peron, has been organizing so-called labor demonstrations against Braden. Posters have appeared on Argentine government buildings denouncing Braden. Mock funeral ceremonies have been held in Buenos Aires, mourning for the Chilean victims of American imperialism.

Since the Argentine fascists are exploiting this case, and since it so happens that we on the Daily Worker were the first North Americans to pick it up, the matter should be explored a bit further.

Article Aimed At U.S. Imperialism

First of all, I should say this: my article was not directed against Spruille Braden himself, but against American imperialist practices of which we here—in the oppressor country—must become aware.

It has been denied by Arnaldo Cortesi in the N. Y. Times for last Thursday that the ambassador to Argentina has any "present connection" with the company. Let us accept this as a fact, and therefore correct that phrase in my article which asserts that there is a present connection.

But in reality the question is not whether Mr. Braden is today connected with the company where the disaster took place. The question is not even whether he was ever connected with the company. It is really amazing that the New York Times on Monday

carries an editorial entitled "Dirty Business," attacking the Argentine fascists for misrepresenting Braden, but the Times never once asks itself why the fascists are able to exploit this Chilean mine disaster.

And the question remains: why? And the answer is that the fascists in Latin America—like the fascists did in Europe—are able to post demagogic placards and weep crocodile tears for the Chilean miners because the policies of the great American corporations in the hemisphere.

If the Braden Copper Company was not so profit-hungry (which is asking the leopard to change his spots) there might have been water hoses and gas masks in that mine and the 500 miners might not have lost their lives.

So long as the big corporations deny elementary rights to the workers in Latin America, so long as the American public is silent when such terrible disasters happen, the Nazis of South America will make hay.

Sent as an Apeser

And the N. Y. Times along with Spruille Braden have no one to blame but themselves. In all their indignation, let them reflect on that.

Another thing. It is all very

well for the Times to wax indignant against the misrepresentations of Mr. Braden by the Farrell-Peron dictatorship. But the fact of the matter remains that Mr. Braden was sent to Buenos Aires as the first ambassador since Norman Armour was withdrawn last year.

Mr. Braden went as the "apeman of ambassador," as the figure who symbolized the new American policy of trying to win the Argentina fascists over by recognizing them, coddling them at Mexico City, and putting down red carpets for them at San Francisco.

As one of the Soviet papers remarked last week, American policy has been animated by a fear that Argentina would seek European markets, and would continue her close connections with Great Britain.

So the American ambassador went down there. He has been alternately warning the fascists to be good, and at the same time doing his best to keep them in power.

There is a certain grim satisfaction and irony in the fact that the fascists are now attacking him—the man who has tried so hard to appease them. It is an old story, of course. And it will come to no good end.

—Worth Repeating—

UNEMPLOYMENT STORM WARNING is the title of an editorial in the current (July 23) New Republic, which says: Indeed, part of the reluctance of Congress to proceed with anti-depression measures may be traced to a hope on the part of at least some important employers that widespread employment will occur. Of course, these employers do not want a disastrous depression and look forward to a prompt recovery. They do, however, wish to bring about general wage reductions, which could be enforced only if large numbers of workers became desperate enough to take whatever wages were offered and unions were so weakened that they could not offer effective resistance. . . . Those members of Congress who are blocking immediate counter-depression measures and the business interests who support them are playing with fire.

NEGRIN'S PLANS for Spain are discussed at length in the current (July 21) issue of The Nation, by J. Alvarez del Vayo, who says in part: We are not arrogant, but we are confident; our record gives us the right to believe in the contribution the Spanish Republic can make to the democratic reconstruction of the world. A Republican government in exile must be formed now to carry out this program and to break the present diplomatic stalemate that operates to keep the Franco regime in power.

Petain and America

NOT ONLY Petain is on trial. The whole decadent sector of the French ruling classes which shared the loot of France with Hitler and made Petain chief of Vichy sits in the dock. In his opening statement at the trial Petain arrogantly repudiated the authority of the court and recognized only the authority of the National Assembly of traitors which gave him power. This is the politics of reaction, the program of the men of the trusts and of Vichy who still permeate liberated France. They want to go back towards Vichy, towards fascism.

The trial is therefore a political event of first-rate importance, a great test for the De Gaulle government and all the parties of France. The people are clamoring for the complete exposure of the Vichy network, the purge of the fascists and particularly of the collaborationist chiefs. Thus far in the testimony, former Premier Reynaud revealed that Petain stood at the center of the plot to betray France, that his personal guilt ranges back for many years. He is charged with dealings with the enemy and betraying the country, the penalty for which is death. For the good of France and in the interests of world peace, it is to be hoped that this will be the final finding of the High Court.

The American people have a special interest in the trial. Essentially the same argument used by Petain to justify his treachery, was used also by the British and American supporters of the Vichy government. We needed Vichy to keep the French empire and fleet intact and to serve as a diplomatic bridgehead into Hitler Europe, ran the argument. It was on the same grounds that our State Department supported Darlan and then Gen. Giraud against the Free French. Similar justification was found for supporting the Franco regime.

It is to be hoped that the trial will uncover in full the international contacts of the Vichy regime, particularly its connections in the United States. The people need this information to fight the attempt to extend similar policies towards the Nazis and reactionaries of Germany and Europe.

Barmine Leaves Broad Anti-Soviet Trail

By SAMUEL SILLEN

Writing in the *New York Times* of Nov. 10, 1940, Alexander Barmine, Soviet traitor, predicted that "the defeat of Hitlerism will also signify the end of Stalinism." Barmine here flagrantly expressed the die-hard hope of the Muncheers who were plotting to turn the war against the Soviet Union.

Barmine tried to sell American readers a bill of goods to the effect that the Red Army was hopelessly weak, reduced to impotence by the purge of the Fifth Column officers with whom Barmine admitted open association.

This kind of "inside information," accepted at its face value in some official circles here, had one aim—to prevent mutual action against Germany by the United States and the USSR. This kind of "inside information" cost many thousands of American lives.

AIM MADE CLEAR

Today Barmine crassly insists he was right. He is still intent on "proving" to America that our ally is a military inferior that can easily be swept off the earth.

Barmine's aim is clearly indicated

in his book, *One Who Survived*. His aim is to destroy Big Three cooperation and to set the stage for World War III.

This is recognized by a sober American scholar, Foster Rhea Dulles, author of *The Road to Tehran*, who reviewed Barmine's "bitingly prejudiced picture" for the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* last Sunday. The book, writes Dulles, "can be only destructive so far as it may affect present-day efforts to establish a basis for Russian-American friendship and future world peace."

Barmine makes the following assertions in his epilogue:

(1) "The defense of Leningrad was a military success; but Leningrad might, without altering the fortunes of war, have been declared an open city." The fact that the Soviet High Command resisted and beat back the Germans at Leningrad, instead of opening that key portal to Hitler, is cited by Barmine to "prove" his irresponsible Goebbels-echoing slander that "Stalin is reckless of human lives." Barmine's friend Gen. Tukhachevsky, as he rightly suggests, would

have opened Leningrad to Hitler, which in its current news bulletin carries a review hailing *One Who Survived* in the same language used by Trotzkyite Edmund Wilson in the *New Yorker* and the inveterate anti-Soviet, Manya Gordon, in *The Saturday Review of Literature*.

President of the Book-of-the-Month Club, Harry Scherman only last week signed a statement in support of the discredited London Poles. Co-signers included Max Eastman, who writes the foreword to Barmine's book; John Chamberlain and William Henry Chamberlain, whose blurbs are featured on the jacket; Harry D. Gideonse, Matthew Woll and Isaac Don Levine.

3.—Barmine chides those who are presumably "blinded by the totalitarian light from the east!" He praises the democracies for being able to "achieve great military victories" and urges them not to have a military "inferiority complex" as regards the Soviet Union. The phrase "inferiority complex" is his.

4.—As a natural corollary, Barmine takes up the cudgels for the reactionary London Poles and for the Greek reactionaries and fascists who to him represent "democracy." **WIDE TIE-UP**

These glaring provocations are being encouraged by powerful forces in this country, including the influential Book-of-the-Month Club, III arsenal.

Another interesting tie-up should be mentioned in connection with the Barmine book—the tie-up between the Book-of-the-Month Club and Reader's Digest, which carried the article by Barmine reprinted as a Nazi weapon against our troops in Italy.

The April, 1945, issue of Reader's Digest ran an article by Friedrich Hayek and announced that "through the courtesy" of the Book-of-the-Month Club bundle reprints would be sent on request. It is therefore not surprising that one of the star writers for Reader's Digest—also featured by the German propaganda staff—should again be given a build-up "through the courtesy" of Harry Scherman's Book-of-the-Month Club.

It is not surprising, especially if one remembers that the same club has a lot of experience in resurrecting anti-Soviet books originally issued in France, like Mark Aldanov's *The Fifth Seal*.

War provocation via the printed word has become a mass industry. Here, as on the Italian battlefield, the big lie is shot out of 106 mm. guns.

Conventions in All States Back Re-Constitution of CP

By JOSEPH STAROBIN

As delegates to the national convention of the Communist Political Association begin to arrive in New York, I talked to John Williamson, the national secretary, about the state conventions which were held over the past week-end throughout the country. Williamson—who himself attended the Ohio convention in Cleveland—was busy examining the credentials and reports which were coming in by wire and mail from all over the land.

As he put it, the state conventions show an overwhelming support for the resolution of the National Committee, rejecting the revisionist position associated with Earl Browder.

There is also overwhelming support in every state for the reconstitution of the Communist Party.

"At all conventions," said Williamson, "there was a very considerable and lively discussion. The tone was critical of weaknesses in the CPA, critical of the mistakes of the leadership and even as yet insufficient, concrete self-criticism from many leaders.

"In all state conventions," Williamson continued, "there was a real attention to strengthening our work among the Negro people, though not always with specific reference to the South, as was the case in the New York State Convention."

There will be 93 regular delegates to the National Convention which meets at the Fraternal Clubhouse at 100 West 48th St. in New York City this Thursday, Friday and Saturday. The meetings are in executive session, Williamson explained. The delegates have been limited by ODT regulations, which prevent

more than 50 delegates attending from outside the metropolitan area.

LEADERSHIP

There was also a universal emphasis on refreshing the present leadership of the CPA with workers from the shops and from the trade unions, although it was felt that a core of the present leadership ought to be maintained in the newly elected National Committee.

There was also a desire to strengthen Communist work among the youths, especially the working-class youth, though not necessarily with reference to a reconstitution of the Young Communist League, Williamson explained.

The majority of the delegates from the country outside New York to the National Convention are working people from the shops. The overwhelming majority are not at present functionaries of the organization.

About 20 percent of the delegates are Negroes, and about 10 percent are veterans of the present war. In the case of Missouri, its lone delegate is Ralph Shaw, a former steel union organizer who has seen three years' service in the armed forces.

Prior to entering the Army forces Shaw was the Missouri state secretary.

HEALTHY MILITANCY

In almost every convention, Williamson said, there were small groups definitely in a leftist-sectarian mood; but the great majority of the state convention delegates demonstrated a healthy militancy and sober approach, without falling into "over-corrections" of the past political line. There was practically no support for Earl Browder's position at the state conventions.

Williamson gave me some typical examples of what the delegations are like from outside of New York.

California, for example, is sending 10 delegates, of whom six are trade unionists, among them women and Negroes. Two are Negro delegates and only three are members of the present national committee.

From Ohio, where the discussion was "spirited and determined, sharply critical but also confident in the future," there are two full-time functionaries, and the rest are workers from the shops.

Of course, the ODT regulations will keep down the number of delegates—though there will be guests and visitors from New York, in

cluding certain non-Communist trade union leaders.

But the size of the state conventions give a good idea of how thoroughly the membership participated in the discussion and selection of its representatives.

THOUSANDS OF PROPOSALS

Incidentally, there were literally thousands of amendments to the National Committee's resolution from clubs and from each state, with thousands of specific proposals.

In California, there were two state conventions: 347 regular delegates in Southern California and 256 at San Francisco.

Maryland had 92 voting delegates: Massachusetts 91; Missouri 25; eastern Pennsylvania, 126; Illinois-Indiana 234.

The Minnesota convention which included delegates from South Dakota, had 86 delegates, while western Pennsylvania had 89, Utah some 32 with Colorado having 24.

The Seattle convention, embracing Washington, Idaho and Oregon, had 88 delegates, while Montana had a convention with 16, and Nebraska about 20. Milwaukee held a convention of about 60 delegates; Ohio 73, and Michigan 130. Maryland, including the capital, had 96 delegates.

Connecticut had about 65 delegates at its convention; New Jersey 211, with New York having a convention of about 1,000 voting delegates.

In all the above cases, figures refer to regular voting delegates elected from clubs in every state, and in judging them the ODT travel regulations must be kept in mind.

Williamson was unable to break these figures down any further in the hurried moment of our discussion, but he expressed great satisfaction with the representative character of the delegations in each state, and with the prospects for a historic session of the CPA's highest body which will have to make fundamental decisions on program, perspective and organization.

\$45,000 Stamp

The highest price ever paid for a single postage stamp was said to be more than \$45,000. The stamp was a one-cent British Guiana issue from the Arthur Hind collection.



The camera has caught a Japanese suicide plane in the very moment of impact against the U. S. cruiser St. Louis off Leyte in the Philippines. The St. Louis has since been repaired and is back in action. The same cruiser was hit on two previous occasions but each time came back to fight again.

Permit Berlin Political Life

BERLIN, July 24 (UP)—American authorities in Berlin are permitting political activity by the Germans in the Reich capital.

"We want Berliners to become politically minded," Col. Frank L. Howley, Military Governor in the American-occupied sector of Berlin, said. "There has not been enough good, healthy policies here."

Political meetings have been approved, Howley said, but no "hoopla" will be allowed. The Communist Party, for example, has been granted permission to hold rallies Sunday with the stipulation that no meeting may be attended by more than 1,000 persons. In the rest of American-occupied Germany meetings of more than five persons have been banned.

U. S. policy in Berlin coincides with that of Soviet authorities, who have encouraged political activities by anti-Nazis.

Berlin's four parties—the Social

Democrats, Communists, Christian Democrats and Liberal Democrats—have formed a national front with a five-point program for the reconstruction of Germany.

The program emphasizes that all vestiges of Hitlerism must be wiped out and the nation be rebuilt on a democratic basis free from militaristic ideas.

Paper Mill Workers Send \$25, Tell Why They Support Daily

As the end of the month approaches, the contributions of trade unions to the \$100,000 Daily Worker fund drive are receiving particular attention. The Bleyer shop of Local 107, International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, is a case in point.

Yesterday the Sponsoring Committee of the fund drive pointed out that the Bleyer Shop had sent in \$25, with a letter praising the work of the Daily Worker. "We remember very well the statement on the importance of the labor press made by the president of our union," say the shop members in their letter. "We quote from his words: 'Here in America we take pride in the small

percentage of illiteracy remaining among our people. However, when we see our newsstands loaded with trashy papers and magazines, and when we realize that our young people buy and read these trashy papers and magazines, we realize literature does not mean much unless it is put to the proper use.'

"We know that to build strong and healthy bodies, it is necessary to eat foods that contain minerals and vitamins. The same principle holds true for the mind. You must feed the mind with literature that has mental vitamins if you wish to develop thinking and mental power. Therefore, we support the Daily Worker and call upon the workers to do the same."

Meat Output for Week Unchanged

CHICAGO, July 24 (UP)—Total meat output of federally inspected plants was unchanged last week, with 250,000,000 pounds being slaughtered.

This was 53,000,000 pounds less than was slaughtered in the same week last year.

Press Agog With Rumors Of Plans for Soft Peace

Nation-wide uncertainty about the Administration's attitude toward the unconditional surrender policy for Japan is being exploited by reactionary Republicans and negotiated peace elements, it became fully clear yesterday. The N. Y. Daily News, a Patterson paper, came out editorially yesterday in favor of treating Japan under the terms of the Atlantic Charter, and expressed encouragement over reports that President Truman favors a modification of the unconditional surrender policy.

At the same time, Republican Sen. Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska declared that a "high military source" informed him of a letter sent to Truman, urging the terms for Japan be specified, allegedly to avoid the loss of American lives.

ALLEGED LETTER

Wherry made public the text of this alleged letter, in which the President was advised to send a message to Japan from Potsdam promising the following things:

(a) The Japanese emperor would be "reinstated" immediately after Japan's surrender, in line with a declaration of Secretary of State James F. Byrnes in favor of social freedom and religious freedom for Japan.

(b) The emperor would be empowered to set up a new government for Japan, with Allied approval.

(c) There would be no American occupation of Japan, except for a control commission, regulating economic life, without changing Japan's social structure.

(d) The Cairo declaration terms for Japan would be upheld, except that there would be an "ordered withdrawal of Japanese troops from the continent" after the American troops move in to the Chinese mainland.

Wherry would not authenticate this letter any further. But it jibes with reports earlier last week in the N. Y. Herald Tribune that such proposals were being studied by the State Department, the Navy and the President.

Twelve broadcasts have been delivered by Capt. E. M. Zacharias of the Navy Department through the OWI which embody these thoughts and which are in themselves a modification of the unconditional surrender policy.

Of course, the entire thing looks like an attempt to defeat Japan without basically altering her social structure. The whole thing is being sold on the false assumption that American lives would be saved by such a policy.

Meanwhile, the well-informed Arthur Krock, columnist for the N. Y. Times, reported that Zacharias has been working on these broadcasts in consultation with the President.

Krock denied that the administration has a "soft peace" in mind, but he asserts that the modification of policy is definitely taking place.

He adds: "What no official would admit was the widespread surmise that another purpose of the broadcast was to end the war before Soviet Russia enters it and avoid the complication of this victorious partnership."

Mission From France to Study US Plane Plants

PARIS, July 23 (UP).—Introduction of American production methods in the French aviation industry will make France self-supporting in the air "if I have anything to do with it," Charles Tillon, France's 45-year-old Communist Minister of Aviation, said today.

France will send technical missions to the United States and other Allied nations to study production methods, he said, and groups of workers may also study American plants.

Although five large aircraft factories have been nationalized, the Air Minister believes firmly in independent owned companies.

"Anybody who wants to build planes has my blessing and will get every possible cooperation from me," Tillon said. "And if the nationalized companies cannot keep on their toes and make as much profit as private firms I'll close them down."

In January, Tillon said, France had 45,000 aviation workers. Today there are 100,000, and there will be 125,000 before the end of the year. In 1939, he recalled, there were only 95,000.

France now produces 110 planes of all types each month. By the end of the year, Tillon expects to have 8,000 planes, including trainers.

Tillon has travelled to all parts of France telling workers that France will be relegated to a third-rate power unless they work "damned hard."

"Workers have every incentive to work in nationalized plants," he said. "After directors have had their salaries and legitimate dividends, profits go into the improvement of living conditions of workers—giving them bigger and better homes, more sports grounds and better medical attention."

WHAT'S ON

RATES: What's On notices for the Daily and The Worker are 35¢ per line (6 words to a line—8 lines minimum).

DEADLINE: Daily at 12 Noon. For Sunday—Wednesday at 4 p.m.

Coming

OPEN AIR CONCERT, Saturday, July 28th, 8:30 p.m. at Brighton Country Club. Featuring: Robert Merrill, baritone with the Metropolitan Opera Co.; M. Yarden, famous cantor, in Jewish-Palestinian folk songs; Nadia Ray, famous Russian singer; Philip Bramberg, violinist; Ethel Ozell, soprano. Proceeds: Food for Russian Children. Adm. \$1. Sponsored by Brighton Center.



MAO TSE TUNG

Yenan Radio Protest Hurley Imperialism

The Chinese Communist radio at Yenan appealed to America Monday to repudiate the "definitely imperialistic" foreign policy "sponsored by Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley."

The Chungking government "represents feudalism and fascism," and China's future peace depends on American support of the Communist's democratic policy, it was declared.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Argentinians Boycott Gov't

The ARGENTINE Radical Party, most powerful political group in the country, has decided to expel any leaders who accept a Government post or collaborate with the Government in any way. In a manifesto the Radicals said they could not cooperate with men who "represent the negation" of the principles for which their Party stands—defense of Argentine institutions, opposition to violence and fraud, respect for the dignity of man, search for greater social justice. . . . Some 2,000-2,500 prominent Argentines including two former foreign ministers, welcomed U. S. Ambassador Spruille Braden at the Buenos Aires terminal upon his return from Santa Fe Province. The demonstration was in repudiation of a campaign conducted by Nazi and GOU forces to discredit the United States by linking Braden's name with the recent mine dictator in Chile. Demonstrators cried: "Electons without Peron, 'Freedom,' 'Democracy,' 'Send the military back to the barracks.'"

The Legislative Committee of the FRENCH Consultative Assembly asserted that the Cabinet's responsibility to the elected Constituent Assembly must be "immediate and absolute." General DeGaulle says the Cabinet should not be responsible to the Assembly while the constitution is being framed. The committee also voted 7-5 for a "sovereign assembly," and rejected DeGaulle's confusing referendum plan by an 11-1 majority. . . . The French Government asked the U. S. Government for information on the reported completion of arrangements

by American oil companies to construct refinery installations in SYRIA and LEBANON. "Some French observers," wrote C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times, "see a curious coincidence in the fact that shortly after the Levant crisis last May and June, when France's position was weakened, one large American oil combination has taken an option to construct a refinery on the Levantine coast and another huge petroleum has decided to construct a costly pipeline."

A showdown in the LONDON dock workers strike is expected Thursday when 1,600 dockers and stevedores from the idle Surrey docks will demand regular weekly wages for "go slow" working tactics which led to virtual suspension of all unloading in the Surrey area last week. . . . John J. Dedman, AUSTRALIAN Minister of Postwar Reconstruction, revealed that the Chrysler Corporation had submitted detailed plans for the manufacture of automobiles in Australia.

Canadians Face Cut in Meat Ration

OTTAWA, July 24 (UP).—The Wartime Prices and Trade Board told Canadians today that the new meat rationing program starting in September would be more severe than previously.

The board said that one coupon—A brown "M" in Book Five—would become valid weekly and would be worth approximately two pounds of meat, carcass weight. All processed and fancy meats will be included in the new rationing system.

Hit Argentine Demagogic On Chile Mine Disaster

By LILLO BERNALÉS

Wireless to the Daily Worker

SANTIAGO, Chile, July 24.—A special commission, named by the Chilean Chamber of Deputies to study the causes of the recent Braden Copper Co. mine disaster at Sewell, yesterday protested and disassociated itself from the campaign of speculations being conducted in Argentina on this subject.

For more on Braden Cooper Co., See Between the Lines, page 6.

Communist Deputy Carlos Rosales,

who made sensational revelations

listing more than 50 concrete charges

against Braden Copper, requested

the Commission to agree on a declara-

tion saying that the Argentine

campaign is conducted by Nazi ele-

ments spurred by the Argentine

GOU Government itself, and that

it is directed against the United

States, by attacking U.S. Ambassador

Spruille Braden. The Commission,

however, rejected this formulation.

Navy Plane Missing In Massachusetts

CAMP EDWARDS, Mass., July 24 (UP).—A Navy fighter plane piloted by Lt. Robert V. Hanna, 21, of Muskegon, Mich., has been missing since it disappeared Saturday during a routine operational flight from Otis Field here, officials announced today.

NAT LOW
Sports Editor, will be at the . . .

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13 ASTOR PLACE • 10th Floor
Adm. \$1, plus tax

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is a different kind of mutual benefit fraternal society. It is a federated organization of 15 nationality group societies and general lodges. Its 175,000 members are drawn from every nationality group community in our country.

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Listen Here,



Mr. Editor

**Bricker Goes Out
To See Boss Hoover**

Columbus, Ohio.

Editor, Daily Worker:

If you want to know who is the boss of the Republican Party, you can watch the news items and they'll tell you. The Columbus Citizen of July 17, for instance, reports as big as you please that John W. Bricker, former Governor of Ohio and former candidate for Vice-President, is going West. He goes in that way for business and pleasure—and the business is to see Herbert Hoover! The hint was given that Bricker is going to see Hoover, in order to advance his (Bricker's) aspirations for the Presidency.

LEWIS BOOTH.

**Do More About
Greece!**

Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Daily Worker:

Why cannot we do more about the Greek situation? What about delegations, phone calls and telegrams of protest to the Greek consulates and Greek embassy? Why not picket lines and demonstrations in front of the Greek consulates?

TOM MCK.

**When One Roams
Appreciation Group**

Detroit, Mich.

Editor, Daily Worker:

When one gets out of New York, appreciation of the Daily Worker grows. I came out here on a job, and would have been lost but for the news and editorial comment of the Daily. I hope that our friends back in New York realize this. I'm sure they do!—to the extent of putting through the financial drive.

J. R. R.

**Chiang Kai-shek
And China Communists**

Chicago.

Editor, Daily Worker:

China today is one of the focal points of danger to the peace of the world. It is due to Chiang Kai-shek's policy of pushing steadily toward a civil war of exterminating the Chinese Communists with the active support of Under-Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew and General Patrick J. Hurley our advisor to Chungking.

The final outcome of such a development would be the establishment of a fascist China. Yet the Chinese Communists prevented the Japanese from taking all of China and India.

Had that happened, we would have been compelled to pay a staggering price for our security in the Pacific. That we are years closer to victory over Japanese fascist imperialism is due to the contribution of the Chinese Communists to the cause of human freedom. It is monstrous, therefore, that the policy of our government should be one of support of the reactionary policies of Chang Kai-shek.

Such action is a double menace to our country. It does serious damage to our moral prestige among all progressive men and women throughout the world. It does grave damage to the vital interests of our nation—jeopardizes our Pacific security.

J.J., Educational Director,
Gannett-Tubman Club, CPA.

The opinions expressed in these letters are those of the readers and not necessarily of the paper. We welcome letters from our readers and their friends on subjects of current interest. To facilitate the printing of as many letters as possible, and to allow for the freest discussion, please limit letters to 300 words.

War Ration Book 5 Out Late This Year

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP).—War Ration Book Five, which the government hopes will see housewives through the end of rationing, will be distributed between Dec. 13 and 15, Price Administrator Chester announced today.

At the same time, a new "A" gasoline ration book will be issued to about 23,000,000 motorists. This book will go into use Dec. 22 and Book Five soon after Jan. 1.

Book Five will be about the size of a dollar, will have only have as many stamps as Book Four, and is designed to last from 10 to 15 months "if it is needed."

"The supply agencies," Bowles said, "have told us that meats and fats, canned goods, sugar and shoes will be in tight supply for some months to come and so it looks as if a ration book will be needed at least throughout most of next year."

Bowles warned that Book Four should not be thrown away after receipt of the new one because its stamps will be used in the interim before Book Five becomes valid. The last full set of blue stamps in Book Four will become good on Sept. 1 and the last of red stamps on Oct. 1.

Book Five and the gasoline book will be distributed at public schools as in the past.

Phone Strikers Firm in Toledo

WARREN, Ohio, July 24.—Telephone operators, poised on the picket line of the nine-day telephone strike here, last night indicated they would not return to work without assurance of changed working conditions and more pay.

The operators, who are members of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL, were scheduled to appear before the Fifth Regional War Labor Board at Cleveland today to show cause for their refusal to return to work.

A four-day bus strike also continued here. As a result, transportation shortage was reported as the reason for high absenteeism in the 50 nearby war plants. The bus drivers, members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway and Motor Coach Operators, AFL, struck over a contract dispute.

CIO Lauds Braden For Democratic Role

On the occasion of United States Ambassador Spruille Braden's enthusiastic popular reception upon his return to Buenos Aires from a tour of Santa Fe province, the CIO Latin-American Affairs Committee cabled Mr. Braden its congratulations on his "magnificent pro-democratic activities" and his popularity "indicative of the true feelings of the Argentine people."

The CIO Latin-American Affairs Committee, of which Jacob S. Potosky, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is Chairman, has been an early backer of Mr. Braden and has extended to him its full support during the past months of uncertainty.

Rail Brotherhoods

Want 25% Boost

CLEVELAND, July 24.—A demand for a 25 per cent wage increase and adjustments of other parts of their agreements were filed with the owners by the five railroad Brotherhoods.

The Locomotive Engineers and Railroad Trainmen already presented their demands. The Brotherhoods of Conductors, Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Switchmen's union, will soon take similar action.

6 ELAS Men Condemned to Die; Unions to Protest Here Tomorrow

Death sentences were imposed Monday on six supporters of the Greek National Liberation Front's Army (ELAS) for the alleged "murder" of two police officers during the British intervention last December. Four others were condemned to life imprisonment by a Criminal Court jury.

This new violation of the Feb. 12 Varkiza peace agreement will be protested here tomorrow (Thursday) noon when a mass trade union delegation will visit the Greek Con-

sulate, 25 Broadway.

The mass delegation is being organized by the provisional AFL-CIO committee of the Greek American Council, 152 W. 42 St., headed by John Vaflades, manager of Local 70, CIO Greek Fur Workers.

On Friday trade unions will send representatives to visit the British, Soviet and Greek Embassies and the State Department in Washington to lodge their protest against terror in Greece, and demand Allied-supervised elections and plebiscites.

Pay Tribute to Emma Lazarus

Over 400 people yesterday paid homage to the memory of Emma Lazarus, noted Jewish poet and crusader, at the sixth annual outing to the Statue of Liberty, organized by the Emma Lazarus Division, women's organization of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, IWO.

A wreath was placed at the foot of the Statue of Liberty, where Emma Lazarus' famous poem The New Colossus is inscribed.

In a special message to the meeting, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt ac-

claimed the democracy-loving poet as a person "who spent her life crusading for American rights."

Speakers included Newbold Morris, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise of the American Jewish Congress, and representatives from labor and cultural organizations.

The audience were urged to use all the cultural and educational means at their command "in continuing the struggle against race hatred and other manifestations of fascism."

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Sofas. Bridgetable Sets at Real Savings.

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Domestic \$3.24

9 x 12 Rug



The LOWDOWN

Give Credit Where It's Due; That Means the Lip

By Nat Low

Them Dodgers simply refuse to lay down and die. Just 10 days ago it seemed as if they were collapsing for good. They had lost about 11 of 17 games, had dropped to a third place tie after leading the league for nearly a month and generally appeared to be at the end of their rope.

But lo and behold! Here it is July 25 and the boys are still in second place, $4\frac{1}{2}$ games behind the pace-setting Cubs. (This, of course, before last night's game with the Cards.)

All of which is a testimony to the general weakness of the league plus the snarling, scrapping spirit which Leo Durocher injects into his players. Whatever else you may say about The Lip, and you can find a lot of things to say about the Garrulous One, he does drive his men and he does get the most out of them.

Perhaps not out of all his men, I'll admit. For instance, his handling of Luis Olmo is the highest expression of good management. But when everything is said and done he ignites a fire under the Dodgers and—if only because they become mad as blazes—they play above their heads.

At any rate, no matter what happens between now and the season's curtain, all objective critics of The Lip must admit he has done an amazing job. No collapse, no matter how bad, can undo the job Leo has done to date. The Dodgers have made it a thrilling race—to now at least—have packed 'em in wherever they've appeared and generally have done a hundred fold more than was expected of them even by the most enthusiastic of Dodger fans.

Credit given where it's due—and it's due Leo.

If anybody thought that Gunder Hagg's 4:01.4 mile last week was a freak, he should be convinced by the 4:01.6 the Gayle Fireman turned in Monday night in Esko, Sweden.

In other words, two such miles in one week—and the four-minute flat next. Wait and see.

Friend Tommy Holmes has run into the expected slump after his record shattering 37-gage consecutive hitting streak.

The Boston Braves' outfielder has gone to the plate 16 times without a safety and after practically all the season atop the league's hitting list, he has been dropped to second place behind Goody Rosen of the Dodgers. Goody, with a solid and steady .367 is one point ahead of Holmes who reached .412 at one stage of the campaign.

Tommy is too solid a clubber, however, to fall too far off the pace. But a slump is a slump and he may stagger along a while before breaking the hex.

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NATIONAL LEAGUE

	W.	L.	Pct.	G.B.
Chicago	52	32	.619	—
BROOKLYN	49	38	.563	4½
St. Louis	49	38	.563	4½
Pittsburgh	47	42	.528	7½
NEW YORK	46	45	.505	9½
Cincinnati	40	41	.494	10½
Boston	41	46	.471	12½
Philadelphia	25	67	.272	31
Games Today				
No games scheduled.				

AMERICAN LEAGUE

	W.	L.	Pct.	G.B.
Detroit	47	36	.566	—
Washington	44	38	.537	2½
Chicago	44	41	.518	4
St. Louis	41	39	.513	4½
NEW YORK	42	40	.512	4½
Boston	43	41	.512	4½
Cleveland	39	43	.476	7½
Philadelphia	30	52	.366	16½
Games Today				
No games scheduled.				

Memo to MacPhail

Dear Larry:

For heaven's sake! Joe McCarthy has gotten himself so sick from worry over the ball club he has handed in his resignation and gone home.

The Yanks are out of the first division for the time in the memory of man, it seems.

The ball club seems shot and dispirited and even you admit there is no quick way out.

The fans are fed up with the whole situation and are demanding some changes, and quick ones.

Why not do the honest, smart, democratic thing? Why not sign any of a number of great Negro players who could put the Yanks right back in the flag race?

All baseball men agree catching is the club's weakest spot. Why not sign the greatest catcher in baseball today—mighty Josh Gibson who averages 32 homers a year?

Why not bolster the pitching staff with a few Negro flingers like Ray Brown of the Homestead Grays, Hilton Smith of the Kansas City Monarchs and Leon Day of the Newark Eagles?

You've made nice speeches about Negroes in baseball, Larry, so how about some plain and simple action for a change?

Sincerely,

NAT LOW.



JOSH GIBSON

9 P.M. TO MIDNIGHT

9:00-WEAF—Wednesday With You	WEVD—1230 K.A.
WJZ—Curtain Time	WNEW—1130 K.A.
WABC—Crime Photography	WQXR—News Review
9:15-WOR—Real Life Stories	WQXR—Mansella, Violin
9:30-WEAF—Mr. District Attorney—Play	9:30-WEAF—Spotlight Bands
WJZ—Jones and I—Play	WABC—Quiz—Detect and Collect
WQXR—The Music Festival	with Wendy Barrie, Fred Utal
10:00-WEAF—Phil Harris Show	WMC—When He Comes Home
WJZ—David Harding, Counter-Spy	WQXR—Great Moments in Music
10:30-WOR—The Symphonic	WQXR—News; Opera Music
WJZ—Lee Mortimer—Talk	10:45-WOR—Frank Kingdon
WABC—Gi Laffi	WQXR—War Bond Concert
WMC—Musical Encores	10:45-WJZ—Report From Overseas
11:00-WEAF, WOR—News; Music	WMC—Musical Encores
WABC, WJZ—News; Music	11:00-WOR—News; Music
WMC—News; Harlem Hour	WQXR—News; Just Music
11:05-WJZ—William S. Galimore	11:30-WABC—Invitation to Music
12:00-WABC—News; Music	WABC—News; Music
WJZ, WMCA—News; Music	WQXR—News Reports

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Your Home Town

Dear Johnny:

FIRST we read your apology—then we read your article of July 12. Living on the East Side, both being "Mamas," we face the facts of life and take no offense at that description! I doubt if your ladies would either. But "fat," Johnny, that's a fighting word to Jewish, Irish and all women! We yearn to have slim figures, but let that pass now, since it's our own fault—we cannot pass up the potatoes and beer.

Such episodes as you describe happen continually on the East Side—in the markets, on busses, on street corners. A traffic tangle of baby carriages occurs almost daily in the Essex St. market, Sister Kathie tells me. Harry, the cop, who is a Negro, straightens it all out amicably. Sometimes he parks one carriage near Kathie's booth and says, "Grandma, mind my baby for me, will you?" The button man, a widower, jokes with her. "I'd like to marry you, only you're a schiksa." The words "kosher" and "goy" (gentile) are commonly accepted as a part of East Side vocabulary. Kathie is asked, "Are you a goy?" as a prelude to their speaking English instead of the customary Jewish.



by John Meldon

There's no place in the world where there is broad raillery and good natured humor than on the East Side, especially among people who are friends and respect each other. It isn't considered any kind of baiting either, Johnny. The East Side is human, tender, sympathetic, though often rough spoken. I believe that unprejudiced Irish, especially if they are Communists, are particularly congenial and able to interpret the Jewish people.

In 1904, Myra Kelly, an Irish school teacher on the East Side, wrote "Little Citizens" which is a classic. It is replete with humor and deep understanding of the struggling immigrant parents and their offspring, such as the Christmas presents showered on the beloved "Krisht" teacher. It is written in dialect where that is appropriate. There is nothing offensive in it. It's a magnificent argument for racial understanding and against all forms of discrimination.

SENSIBLE people take offense in conversation only where offense is meant," says Sister Kathie, who taught Jewish children, worked with Jewish teachers, and knew Jew-

ish parents for 25 years. She's a natural on the East Side, and she doesn't think it's anti-Semitic to hate sour cream or borsht. Anyhow she likes knishes (dough wrapped around cheese, potato, or meat) which are tasty and fattening. But now you've got her worried because she is trying to write a series on her market experiences and she can't do it if she has to describe all Jewish people as political symbols rather than human beings. It's calling the Irish all "saints and scholars."

By the way, Johnny, we've got our own pet peeve about your article on July 12, "Orangemen's Day!" In the very first sentence you are guilty of "Anti-Hibernianism." "Hot as bejasus!" as a highly uncultured Irish aunt of mine would say! Is that nice? To admit before the whole world that a member of our noble race can be both uncultured and profane, and "a lady" at that! It's a difficult and delicate matter to talk about the Irish too, and telling that fib about your aunt! You'll be hearing from them, mark my word.

Always your friend, however,

ELIZABETH (GURLEY FLYNN).

P.S. Save some of your apologies for the Irish, Johnny. You know "we are a peaceful race and we'll lick anyone who says we ain't."

SISTER KATHIE.

Overseas Servicemen Get Top Stars Through USO-Camp Shows

USO-Camp Shows, Special Services Division of the War Department, and the theatrical world has just completed one of the toughest assignments in the history of show business—part of a plan to accelerate entertainment for troops still over seas.

Shortly after V-E Day, Special Services asked that 100 entertainment units—musical, legitimate, variety and specialty acts, be at work in the European Theatre by August 1. It was a large order, but this week the final contingent left for overseas, bringing to well over 100 the number of Camp Show units in the E. T. O. This, in addition to 26 hospital units. The 100 shows include 11 large musicals, 20 legitimate plays, 10 concert units and 59 variety units.

Add to this personality tours lined up for the summer season including Sonja Henie, Amos 'n' Andy, Jane Froman, Information Please with Beatrice Lillie, Jack Benny, Ingrid Bergman, the Andrews Sisters, Bob Hope, Elie Logan,

Arthur Treacher, Allan Jones, Grace Moore and Betty Hutton.

When the order was received in May, Camp Shows sent out a call to the show world and the response was immediate and overwhelming. Actors, singers, producers, scenery designers, costumers—all the components of the entertainment world from Broadway to Hollywood—pitched in on this gigantic job of mass importation.

Rehearsals got under way on such recent hits as Kiss and Tell, Up in Central Park, Our Town, Arsenic and Old Lace, Blithe Spirit, Night Must Fall, and many others. Radio City Music Hall gathered a cast of 45, the largest single unit ever sent overseas by Camp Shows. The Copacabana and the Diamond Horseshoe readied revues to join the safari; name bands such as Shep Fields dusted off their best numbers packed their instruments.

Many of the "big names" gave up lucrative assignments at home without fanfare or publicity, to work

abroad at a considerable financial sacrifice.

While the preparations got underway here, Abe Lastfogel, President of USO-Camp Shows and Col. Marvin Young, Special Services, went abroad to survey the work already done in entertaining soldiers, and to set up a system that would get these shows to the boys in the Occupation Zone and in redeployment centers with the greatest speed and efficiency. With the European Theatre now a "static base," new procedures were called for.

STAY IN ONE AREA

Under a new method of routing, Camp Show units will spend their six months abroad in one area instead of moving about. This also applies to personalities on six week tours, thus giving every G. I. in the area a chance to see them. The Jack Benny troupe, for instance, is concentrating in the Third and Seventh army sectors. That's the way the G. I.'s want it. There is a careful determination of how many men occupy a given area and a requisite number of units are assigned to it. Another advantage of holding the units to a single area is that G. I.'s on the move to assembly and redeployment areas and ports of embarkation—can catch several different shows en route. Within a 70 mile radius of Rhenes there are 17 army camps, each with

a complement of ten to fifteen thousand men; and in assembly areas at Marseille, Le Havre, Cherbourg and other ports of embarkation the men remain up to 25 days. All of these men must be reached with shows as often as possible.

While they were abroad Lastfogel and Col. Young made other changes in procedure that would speed up units as well as personalities from the time they left New York until they were at work in Germany. Arriving in Paris, name personalities are briefed by Camp Shows and Special Services officers, give press interviews and broadcast over AFN, the Army Forces Network. At Camp Show headquarters at Chatou they received their assignments and start out. Chatou was formerly used as a rest camp where entertainers could return every ten weeks. Hereafter they will get one week's rest in every 26 weeks, and that will be at a rest camp in their area, thereby saving on time and travel. Lastfogel figures that with 100 shows out, 3,000 extra playing dates will be added during a six-month period.

To date, USO-Camp Shows has sent out over 3,498 entertainers, 1,389 of whom are overseas now. Now shows scheduled for other than the European Theatre include Oklahoma, Girl Crazy, Folly & Bess, Man who came to Dinner, Gertude Lawrence, Gene Autry, Charlie Ruggles & Mary Brian, Jack Carson, Eddie Bracken & Peggy Ryan, Danny Thomas, Kay Kyser, Mexican Hayride, 3 Men on a Horse and What a Life, Salute to Gershwin, consisting solely of Gershwin music, is in rehearsal.

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CINEMA Theatre

The heroic story of the part played by the gallant

Soviet workers in the War!

COLUMBIA & WOODWARD

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Here & There

Bing Crosby and Bob Hope have been selected by Box Office Digest as two of the ten outstanding actors in their 1944 poll of actors, actresses, executives and producers.

Other top male names in the poll are Gary Cooper, Joseph Cotten, Charles Boyer, Spencer Tracy, Humphrey Bogart, Mickey Rooney, Danny Kaye and Alan Ladd.

The 5th Ave Playhouse will present for one week starting today (Wednesday), the French film, La Martenelle (Children of Montmartre), the prize-winning film by Jean-Benoit Levy, starring Madeleine Reynaud and Elambert; and the Swedish film, The Heavenly Way (Himlaspellet), an allegory set partly in Heaven, partly on earth, a combination of The Green Pastures and The Beggar's Opera. Both films have complete dialogue titles in English.

Dame May Whitty, British character actress, has been set by Columbia for a featured role in The Woman in Red. After finishing this picture she leaves for Manhattan, where she will appear on the stage in To Raise Raquin, which will be directed by her daughter, Margaret Webster.

For two weeks starting today, the 55th St. Playhouse will bring to New York another French film about children—this time: Forty Girls and a Baby (Le Mioche) starring Lucien Baroux, with Gabrielle Dorziat and Pauline Carton.

Soldiers on leave in Europe today are relaxing in the most famous resorts on the Continent, but the GI's still rate Paris as the tops for recreation, CBS correspondent Charles Collingwood declared in a broadcast from the French capital.

"Thousands of soldiers are taken care of in some of the greatest hotels in the world in the South of France. The Air Forces run a fabulous establishment on the Isle of Capri, and they are even running tours into Switzerland. But of all the places, Paris remains the greatest leave center of them all," says Collingwood.

"But not all GI's want to spend their leaves in night clubs. And for them the Army has arranged some extraordinary opportunities. For example, the Sorbonne has taken 500 students from the Army for a two-month course in French language and civilization; 200 Americans are going to begin studying music at the Paris conservatory soon; and in August, a group will study painting."



Singing away in the Broadway hit, Oklahoma, are Howard da Silva and Alfred Drake. USO-Camp Shows has another cast performing this hearty musical for GIs on the battlefield.

Thousands Rally in Detroit Demand Jobs, Congress Return

By HARRY FAINARU

DETROIT, July 24.—Thousands of CIO unionists from plants of this teeming war industry center today poured into Cadillac Square to demand that Congress stay in Washington until a program securing jobs and living standards is enacted.

"We have just begun to fight," read a big banner across the platform in the center of the square, where labor has demonstrated on many occasions before the war.

"Congress guaranteed profits for corporations. How about a job for every worker?" read another banner.

C. Pat Quin, president of the Detroit and Wayne County CIO Council, presided.

The workers are determined to work for the unconditional surrender of the "Japanese gangster militarists," he declared as he opened the meeting. But he demanded that America's native fascists should not be allowed to "destroy our American way of life."

President R. J. Thomas, of the United Automobile Workers, the principal speaker, has not yet spoken as this dispatch is wired. Others are UAW Vice-President

Richard T. Frankenstein, people's candidate for Mayor, Tracy Doll, and Rev. Charles A. Hill, his running mates for the City Council.

ASSAIL JEFFRIES

Speaking within hearing distance of Mayor Jeffries' City Hall office window, they vigorously attacked his administration policy and called for a heavy labor turnout in the primaries in support of the union-backed candidates.

This was the first demonstration in this city since the war broke out. A number of UAW locals came with their banners.

The anti-labor "straitjacket" Ball-Burton-Hatch bill was also the target of banners. One said: "Defeat the un-American Ball-Burton Hatch Bill."

Others said "48 hours' pay for a 40-hour week," "Repressive legislation against labor is no substitute for jobs." Banners also called for passage of the 65-cents-an-hour minimum wage bill and the \$25 for 26 weeks' unemployment insurance bill.

The hurriedly put together report was handed to the press just an hour before he was succeeded as Treasury Secretary by Vinson.

Morgenthau Says He Didn't Quit Voluntarily

Henry Morgenthau, Jr., said yesterday that he had resigned involuntarily as Secretary of Treasury after President Truman had asked him to make way for his successor, former Director of War Mobilization Fred M. Vinson.

"I would have preferred to stay along until V-J Day," he told a luncheon meeting of the New York State War Finance Committee, adding that his resignation "was not of my choosing."

Morgenthau expressed surprise when told that it was not generally known he had resigned involuntarily. He admitted, but would not be quoted directly, that President Truman had asked for his resignation.

He said he thought all correspondence concerning his resignation had been made public in Wash-

ington and refused to comment further when informed that it had not.

Morgenthau said he did not wish the public to gain the impression that he quit while the war still was being fought. However, he said he felt his "12 years under the magnificent leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt, ended when he died."

His future plans, he disclosed, included writing a book about Germany, which he intends to complete by Aug. 6, and then resting at his farm at Fishkill.

Morgenthau left for Washington immediately after the luncheon, where, in his annual report for 1945 he made public recommendations that all government fiscal agencies should be concentrated in the Treasury.

NMU 'Political Picket Line' On Wages to Be Strengthened

The National Maritime Union, CIO, announced yesterday that its "political picket line" in front of War Shipping Administration offices in a score of major cities would be "continued and strengthened" until the union's wage demands were met.

The NMU is engaged in a fight for an upward revision of the seamen's substandard wages to the 55 cent-an-hour minimum which is the established standard for workers ashore.

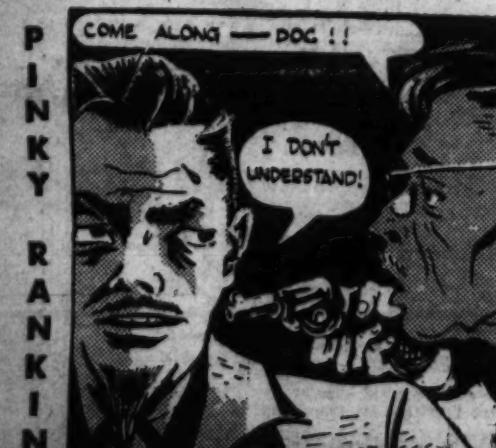
The War Labor Board is now considering the wage demands of the seamen, following a hearing in Washington last week at which rank and file NMU members testified that unless their wages were brought up to standard they could not continue going to sea and still maintain their families.

The NMU has urged the board to hand down its decision by Aug. 1.

The war risk bonus, which accounted for about half the seamen's war time wages, was cut last week by the War Emergency Board of the WSA. The base pay of American seamen, whose works is fraught with more difficulties, sacrifices and hazards than any other industry, is \$100 a month.

The NMU also disclosed yesterday the formation of a joint Maritime Wage Committee in New York. The joint committee is composed of NMU, American Communications Association (CIO), Marine Cooks and Stewards (CIO) and Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders, Independent.

A meeting of representatives of all four unions was scheduled to take place today at 1 p.m. at NMU headquarters, 346 West 17th St.



Daily Worker

New York, Wednesday, July 25, 1945



A rail-car ferry between Honshu and Hokkaido is blasted by bombs from carrier planes of Halsey's Third Fleet, as part of the U.S. attack on Japan's communication lines.

The Veteran Commander

REMNANT OF JAPANESE NAVY HIT

Adm. Halsey's fighters, dive-bombers and torpedo planes—more than 1,000 of them—screamed into the great enemy naval base of Kure. This base is tucked away in the inland sea, behind the protection of Kyushu and Shikoku Islands, and is so situated that it has three exits—westward to the Tsushima Straits, southward into the open Pacific, and eastward in the direction of Osaka.

This was the sixth carrier strike by Halsey's fleet since it went on the rampage on July 10.

Halsey's fliers obviously were looking for the leftovers of the enemy fleet which, if caught in the inland sea, would be at a terrific disadvantage against aircraft because there would be little room for maneuver. The results of the strike are not known yet at this writing. Other units of our Navy sailed into Suribachi Bay in the Kuriles and shelled the Paramushiro naval base.

A fleet of 600 Superforts hit the Osaka-Nagoya area and dropped 4,000 demolition bombs on eight square miles. This, by the way, was the largest Superfort expedition yet.

Our surface ships swept enemy shipping from the Chekiang coast, just south of Shanghai.

Our fliers ranged from Fuson in Korea down the China coast to the Gulf of Siam.

Thus, our attack, perhaps for the first time, was directed simultaneously against most enemy objectives along a 4,000-mile front from Paramushiro to Haiphong (only the Okinawa-based planes held back because of foul weather).

It is entirely probable that this concerted and "universal" attack is timed to coincide with the Big Three meeting at Potsdam, where Japanese

affairs are probably being discussed, and is intended to give the enemy food for surrender thoughts.

However, our success against Japan from the east are being somewhat dampened by the ineffectual action of the Chinese troops from the west. It will be remembered that ever since we started our march from Guadalcanal almost three years ago, we have been comparing our action to a steel mallet hitting iron on an anvil made of clay. The Chinese anvil is still of clay and must remain such until we cure ourselves of the Chiang-obsession and buttress China not only with supplies, but with a moral incentive as well. The decision lies in China, and that is precisely where we are the weakest.

Right now the Japanese, having yielded some ground along the western side of the railroad "corridor," have stiffened, and the Chinese are unable to make any important advances in the Kweilin section (it will be remembered that some weeks ago we wrote that Kweilin and Henan, and especially the latter, would be the touchstones of Chinese ability to carry out a real offensive). In the coastal area the Japanese, having given up Foochow, are now consolidating themselves in the Swatow-Amoy sector and seem to be forging a strong defense horseshoe around the area of our possible future landings. The horseshoe right now is only 25 miles thick in one place, but Chiang's millions do not seem able to break it at Tanchuk-Tengyun.

The Chinese "anvil," so vital to the effect of our blows against Japan, is the real strategic crux of the whole situation.

Private Planes Will Sell at \$2,000

GLENDALE, Calif., July 24 (UP)—

Jarvis Mfg. Co. revealed today that it has in production a two-passenger private plane with a top speed of 135 miles per hour that will sell for "around \$2,000."

The plane, a pusher-type with a 40-mile landing speed and 400-mile cruising range, will be ready for tests about Sept. 1. Designed by airplane expert Volmer S. Jensen, it will have retractable lightweight wing wheels, one-wheel landing gear and a nose skid.

Ask U.S. Agencies to Recruit 75,000 More Railroad Workers

WASHINGTON, July 24 (UP)—

The Senate War Investigating Committee today called on the Army and three government agencies to help recruit 75,000 additional railroad workers immediately to break the transportation jam.

Less than two hours after Defense Transportation Director J. Monroe Johnson asserted deployment cannot be completed on sched-

ule with present manpower, the committee sent investigators to the War Department, the DT, the Office of War Mobilization and the War Manpower Commission.

Chairman James M. Mead (D-N.Y.) today said the committee is attempting to have some 1,000 surplus passenger-type Army airplanes brought back from Europe to relieve the situation.



CPA Discussion Page

Open to All CPA Members—Send Your Contributions to Communist Political Association, 35 E. 12 St., N. Y. C.

Browder on Revisionism

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

In Comrade Browder's article in yesterday's Daily Worker, entitled *On the Question of Revisionism*, we have another restatement of his thesis that the "intelligent" and "progressive" big capitalists of the United States will lead our country and the world to a safe haven of peace, democracy and prosperity. Browder has learned nothing from the profound discussion that our Party has been carrying on for the past several weeks, except to hide his bourgeois reformist line under more skillful phrases. Thus, his article is replete with an extra dose of Browderite misrepresentations, misquotations, evasions and factual distortions.

Monopolies

On the question of our attitude toward the monopolies, Comrade Browder assails the National Committee's proposal to curb the monopolies as virtually a plan to establish socialism now in this country. He implies that the Party's immediate line is to "break" the power of monopoly capital, which he declares could only mean socialism. This, of course, is a direct misrepresentation of the Party's policy. Our National Committee has not made any such proposition, nor has any member of it. Browder's urgent solicitude for the monopolies is not due to any fear that we are all set to "break" their power, but because of his belief that they are progressive and must not be seriously interfered with. This is why he so vociferously denounced Henry Wallace's anti-monopoly speeches as crass leftism, and why he glanced disapprovingly down his nose at Roosevelt's election-time attacks upon the trusts. For, certainly, Browder did not base his disapproval of these liberals upon a belief that they were out to "break" the trusts and thereby to establish socialism. He just does not want the trusts attacked, for fear of offending big capital. Browder, on the question of curbing the monopolies, holds a position far to the right not only of William Green, but also of the platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties. Indeed, not even the monopolists themselves have ever dared openly to ask for the free hand that Browder in his book on Teheran and in his policies willingly concedes them.

Comrade Browder pins his whole case about what he alleges to be our plan to "break the trusts" as a task of today upon an article of mine that appeared in the *New Masses* on Dec. 14, 1943. Purportedly directly quoting me, he says that I "insisted" that we base our 1944 election program upon "drastic curbs on monopoly capital, leading toward the breaking of its power."

This is a deliberate falsification of my position, as well as a misquotation from my article. Never did I propose any such formulation for our election program, much less "insist" upon it, as Comrade Browder knows quite well. Nor did I write it in my article and the words he ascribes to me are not to be found there. The article in question dealt with postwar perspectives in general, embracing many questions as well as the elections, such as organizing the unorganized, trade union unity, working class political organization, etc. It was in discussing, not an election program, but the long-run perspectives of the workers, that I wrote:

"Upon the war's end organized labor will also have to begin to pay real attention to correcting the fundamental evils that have produced these two great wars, plus the long economic crisis in one generation. Facism must be defeated eco-

nomically and politically in this country, as well as militarily on the battlefields abroad. This means that the power of monopoly capital, the poison source of fascism all over the world, will have to be drastically curbed and eventually broken. To do this the nationalization of the banks and of such industries as the railroads, coal and steel is imperative. Nor can the danger of war, fascism and mass pauperization be finally liquidated in our country until the American people establish socialism."

This was an ultimate program, not an election platform, as Browder falsely asserts. As such, I stand upon it squarely. But, of course, there is much in this statement of an ultimate program that offends Comrade Browder, who has elected himself the champion to keep everybody, including Mr. Wallace and the late President Roosevelt, from curbing the trusts, or even speaking ill of them. With his visions of a capitalist utopia now in the making, he has a great distaste for any idea of breaking his "progressive" monopolies, however "eventual" the breaking may be. He has also discarded socialism completely, both for now and the future, and the thought that mass poverty can be finally curbed only by the introduction of socialism goes contrary to his whole thesis of an expanding, progressive capitalism.

But Browder does not attack my article as an ultimate program, which it is; he dishonestly twists it into an immediate election program and then, on the basis of this hocus pocus, he tries to make the Party membership believe that our Party now has as its immediate program the breaking of the power of finance capital; i.e., the establishment of Socialism. Such intellectual trash he hands us in the name of Marxism.

Not satisfied with this complete distortion of the Party's position, as well as my own, on monopolies, Comrade Browder, who was at great pains to establish his argument that the Party is fighting for Socialism as an immediate issue, suddenly turns a handspring and, because the Party correctly demands the enforcement of the anti-trust laws, says the opposite to his earlier argument, namely, that "all the furious outcry against the monopolies in the course of our current discussion comes to the climax of a return to the Sherman anti-trust law!!!"

This is an insult to the Party's intelligence. Comrade Browder would have our Party ignore the elementary fact that its whole fight on every front is in some way or another centered against the monopolies and has the effect of curbing their power. This is true when we are struggling to defeat reactionaries in the elections, when we are working to strengthen the unions in the basic industries, when we are fighting against Jimcrownism and anti-Semitism, when we are battling against profiteering and unjust tax laws, when we are fighting for the full production program, etc., etc. And, above all, is it true when we are fighting for a democratic outcome of this war and the realization of the Teheran objectives. Everywhere and always, the success of these struggles depends upon the clearness with which we see the real enemy we are fighting on the home front, reactionary monopoly capital. Browderism, seeking constantly to shield the monopolists from conscious attack, tends to compromise and weaken this whole struggle.

The U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Browder, after "straightening us out" on the monopoly question, proceeds to "correct" the Party line also on the matter of

Anglo-Soviet relations. Here he presents us with a restatement of his shocking speech in the National Board on June 2, which opened the eyes of many members to the danger of his general political line. That is to say, once again he summons us to rely upon the big bourgeoisie to maintain good relations with the USSR.

But this time Comrade Browder is compelled to use a few new phrases. His old clichés about the "intelligence" and "progressivism" of the big capitalists being the decisive factors in determining their policy towards the USSR have been so completely discredited in the Party discussion that he does not venture to use them again. The same thing is true of his idealistic, non-Marxist nonsense about the "true class interests" of the big capitalists being the thing that will hold them to a line of friendly cooperation with the USSR. So he, therefore, has had to dig up a new and more plausible term. This time it is "the profit motive" of the big bourgeoisie that we must rely upon to guard and promote good American-Soviet relations.

But this "profit motive" is only Browder's former capitalist "intelligence," "progressivism" and "true class interests" dressed up in a new garb. Here again, we must say, "No, Comrade Browder, we cannot rely upon 'the profit motive' either, no more than we could upon the capitalists' 'intelligence,' 'progressivism,' and 'true class interests' to guarantee sound USA-USSR relations." It is, of course, very important in these relations that the capitalists want to trade with the USSR, and it is also important that the more farsighted among the capitalists realize the folly of a collision with the USSR. But these factors are not decisive, in the sense that they can be depended upon, as Browder says, to cement relations between the two great countries. They can readily be outweighed by other factors not immediately related to profits in trading with the USSR, such as the big bourgeoisie's dread of the spread of democracy throughout the world, their hatred of Socialism as typified by the USSR, their basic trend towards fascism, and their urge for imperialist expansion. Therefore, the only guarantee of continued and close collaboration between the USA and the USSR, which is the key to world peace and economic development, is that the democratic forces of the world, and particularly those in the United States, remain keenly on the alert to defeat the main enemies of such collaboration, namely, monopoly capital. This, Browder utterly fails to see. The more he writes about Soviet-American relations, the clearer he exposes the dangerous character of his revisionism.

Socialism

Comrade Browder, in his article, also speaks of Socialism. He argues to the effect that his position on this basic question has been justified because the Communist Parties of Europe, like our own, have not put Socialism upon the order of business as a question of immediate struggle after the war. But we did not need Browder to tell us that Socialism is not the issue at this time; we ourselves know that, and it was already a matter of public knowledge from the published programs of European underground movements.

What Browder is being criticized for regarding Socialism is not because he told us that Socialism is not an immediate issue, but because he abandoned the whole historical perspective of Socialism, even in the most remote sense. This, of course, the European Communist Parties emphatically did not do. Browder cast Socialism aside altogether, sub-

stituting for it a capitalist utopia. In his book *Teheran*, he developed a perspective of an expanding and developing capitalist system, which not only contradicted Lenin's theory of the decay of capitalism under imperialism, but also abolished the basic Marxian perspective of Socialism itself.

When Comrade Duclos said that "Earl Browder made himself the protagonist of a false concept of the ways of social evolution in general, and in the first place, the social evolution in the United States," he obviously had in mind the fact that Browder has abandoned the concept of a social evolution that culminates eventually in the establishment of Socialism, and instead, believes in a social development leading to a rejuvenated, progressive capitalism that liquidates the need and possibility of Socialism.

National Unity

In dealing with the question of national unity in the postwar period, Comrade Browder exposes again his revisionism. His theory is that monopoly capital, or the decisive sections of it, must be a part of the postwar national unity, and he pictures a situation practically devoid of struggle, and in which labor and capital will agree upon basic national policy. To get big capital into this national unity it must be appeased, according to Browder's harmony of interest of labor and capital ideas. Consequently, in the postwar period there must be no attempts to curb the trusts generally, there must be no "dictation" by the unions to the monopolists, there must be a labor's postwar no-strike pledge (see Browder's formulation of this in his article), there must be an incentive wage generally in the industries (Daily Worker, April 14, 1944), and (judging by the way leading comrades have advocated this idea throughout the Party unchecked by Browder) there must also be guaranteed profits for the employers.

Such a national unity in the postwar period, based on class peace with the monopolists, would be a first-class disaster to the workers and the people generally (as well as to our Party). It would paralyze the unions by robbing them of their strike weapon in the face of the employers' offensive; it would turn the unions, with their incentive wage plans, into speed-up instruments of the bosses; it would put the employers on "Easy Street" as regards profits; it would exempt the trusts from public criticism and give them a free hand to carry out their exploitation and reactionary politics. In short, it would be a nation under the complete domination of finance capital; that is, a paradise for the employers and a menace to the peace and prosperity of the world.

Obviously, therefore, Browder's conception of postwar national unity is absurd. The national unity of the postwar period must be made, not with the participation of the great finance capitalists, but with the truly democratic masses against these big capitalists. That a few big capitalists may go along with the national democratic coalition does not alter the rule. All the democratic forces of every class must join ranks against the common enemy of labor and the people, the trusts. Comrade Duclos gives a clear picture of the kind of national unity we must strive for when he says:

"We, too, in France, are resolute partisans of national unity, and we show that in our daily activity, but our anxiety for unity does not make us lose sight for a single moment of the necessity of arraying ourselves against the men of the trusts."

Duclos' proposition to organize national unity not with, but against,

"the men of the trusts" is doubly correct for the United States, where the big capitalists are the richest, most powerful, most reactionary, and most rabidly imperialist of any in all the United Nations.

Browder's oft-repeated argument, which he uses to buttress his false conception of national unity, namely, that it was finance capital that guaranteed the election of Roosevelt, is ridiculous. In reality, never did any President stand for re-election with so few big capitalists supporting him as Roosevelt had, which, of course, did not mean that the Roosevelt Administration was not a capitalist government. One of the most pronounced aspects of the campaign, indeed, was the intense effort made by the great bulk of the biggest capitalists in the country to defeat Roosevelt—a fact known to everybody, and which flatly contradicts Browder's theory that "the decisive sections of finance capital" were and are in the progressive camp. In his article, to justify his wrong notion of national unity, Browder repeats this absurd theory by stating: "It was that section of the big bourgeoisie represented by the New York Times, which swung over to Roosevelt in the final fortnight of the election campaign, together with the mass following which it commands, that furnished the narrow margin of victory." This is supremely absurd. It is quite certain that the deathbed switch of the Times in the last days of the campaign did not bring as many as 100,000 votes to Roosevelt. Indeed, the figure was probably very much less. The belated, wavering stand of the Times was completely indecisive in carrying New York State, much less the United States.

The Labor-Management Charter

Curiously, Comrade Browder complains of the slowness of the National Board, and particularly of myself, in rejecting the Labor-Management Charter. I say "curiously" because Browder himself accepted this charter entirely without criticism (Daily Worker, April 8, 1945), and he still does, his only complaint being that the notoriously reactionary National Association of Manufacturers was not a party to the charter.

Speaking for myself, I may say that when the report on this charter was first made in the National Board, three months ago, I replied to the report with such an emphatic set of warnings of the dangers involved in this form of class collaboration that Browder declared that I was rejecting the charter outright. I did not so reject it, however, believing for a while that it could be used as an instrument to advance the unity of labor and to help split the bourgeoisie. But I am now convinced that the charter cannot do these things. This conclusion is emphasized by the fact that both the AFL and the Chamber of Commerce are now sabotaging the charter. Organized labor cannot afford to feed itself with illusions, such as the charter and Browder cultivate, that it can harmonize its interests with big capital in an over-all postwar economic program. This is clear from the charter itself, which repudiates the intervention of the government in production, does not accept the new Economic Bill of Rights, and does not endorse the principle of full employment. In order to achieve the economic aims of labor and the people, the trade unions, together with the rest of the democratic forces of the nation, in the postwar period, will have to conduct a long and complicated economic and political struggle against the big capitalists. These aims cannot be achieved in advance by a harmoni-

(Continued on Page 2)

Subjective Approach Spurred Opportunism

My first reaction, like that of many others, to the charge of "opportunism" contained in the draft resolution of the National Board, was one of rejection, since "opportunism" connoted to me conscious betrayal of the interests of the working class, and I feel that in the main our basic policies in the past year and a half had been in the interests of the working class.

Re-reading the *History of the CPSU* clarified this for me. Opportunism, as defined therein, means the worship of the spontaneity of the labor movement, and the belittling of the importance of Socialist consciousness and Socialist theory, and denying the role of the Party of the working class in bringing an understanding of Socialist theory to the workers. This inevitably leads to the strengthening of bourgeois ideology among the workers, no matter how correct policy may be on immediate issues. The Constitution of the CPA, in its preamble, its statement of purposes and qualifications for membership, reveals the alarming extent to which we had slipped into opportunism and forgotten the fundamental role of the Marxist vanguard.

The question remains as to why we slipped into this dangerous error with so little trouble, in spite of our long study of the vanguard role of the Party, which culminated in the intensive study of *The History of the CPSU* during 1939 and 1940. I would like to deal with two of the factors which contributed to this easy acceptance.

First, I feel that the drift into opportunism took place over a long period of time, almost imperceptibly. In this connection, some examination of *Victory—and After* is very revealing. In this book, although much greater emphasis is placed on the role of labor and there is a sharp demand for centralized control of production, limitation of incomes and profits, etc., there are the germs of the opportunistic thinking that matured in the Teheran thesis.

The essence of Socialist theory is the uncovering of the contradictions of society, based on an objective, dialectical, materialist analysis of reality. In *Victory—and After* there is strong evidence of an idealistic approach which tends to gloss over contradictions, rather than to expose them.

The primary factor making for national unity is also to be found in a subjective quality, patriotism. Stating that national unity can be achieved only through compromise between the conflicting interests of various class groupings, Browder states: "The motive power behind such compromise can only be something which all parties hold in common—that is, patriotism, the common determination to win the war in order that the nation may survive." Further, Browder states that "we must depend upon the patriotism of the rich, a patriotism stimulated by their intelligence which tells them that victory over the United States by the Axis means their delivery to the tender mercies of the Hitlers, Goerings, Himmlers."

While correctly pointing out that the bourgeoisie has a class interest in the destruction of Nazi fascism, this approach tends to obscure the fundamental conflict of interests which constantly plagues the bourgeoisie, and which has historically made their "patriotism" a very unreliable factor.

When Browder says: "We must find a way to finance, organize and fight this war through to victory, a way which is acceptable to the owning class (industrialists, financiers, bond-owners, with their most important hired men) and at the same time sufficiently effective for a victorious outcome. For if these persons should become disaffected and sabotage the war, they could do enormous damage, and the necessary measures to suppress their resistance would be more costly and

damaging than the concessions that must be made to win them to a workable compromise," he is laying the basis for his later call upon the working class to remove "the fear of socialism" from the minds of the bourgeoisie—a call which is alarmingly reminiscent of the position taken by the German Social-Democrats after the overthrow of the monarchy in Germany, a position which served as the bridge between the Republic and fascism.

On the question of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, problems and difficulties are attributed to prejudice and misunderstanding. This approach denies the fundamental historical contradiction between capitalism and socialism, which exists alongside the fact that it is America's national interests to cooperate with the Soviet Union in war and in the peace.

While it is correct to expose sharply the organized attempts of Hitler agents to use anti-communism as a weapon against American democracy and unity, this approach glosses over the class nature of bourgeois democracy, and denies the existence of objective anti-democratic forces within the capitalist system and within every capitalist state.

Doubtless the errors in *Victory—and After* were in themselves the result of previous errors and oversimplification of policy. This emphasizes the necessity of re-training in Marxism a whole generation of Party members and leaders, particularly since both *Victory—and After* and Teheran were used as the primary theoretical texts for the bulk of our educational work in this period.

The second factor in our easy acceptance of opportunism lies in our bureaucratic methods of work. While our national leadership recognizes the major responsibility which it bears for this, I want to stress the responsibility of the local leadership. No one person can be a bureaucrat—as Browder himself pointed out some time ago—unless the people he is working with permit him to be.

Over the past year and a half, there have been numerous occasions when one member or another of the county committee or county staff would raise a point of doubt or disagreement, yet none of these was ever analyzed carefully and thought through fully. We were too easily satisfied with a superficial answer, and did not take the trouble to do enough independent research and thinking so that we could present our doubts or disagreements in all their implications. Similarly, in dealing with the membership, we did not give sufficient consideration to problems which our members were confronted with in their attempts to carry out the policy. Discipline in carrying out the policies of our organization in all of our practical work does not relieve us of the responsibility constantly to test our policies against reality, and to present to the leading committees of our organization a serious analysis of weaknesses as we see them. I am sure that if this had been done, we would not have slipped as far as we did into opportunism, and that we would have recognized our errors much more quickly.

Generally, I feel that this whole process of critical evaluation of our policies, our organizational forms, war leadership and our individual work is strengthening our entire organization immeasurably. If each one of us in the local committees follows the example of self-criticism set by Comrades Dennis, Williamson and Thompson I feel that the local leadership will be improved, not only as a result of promoting new proletarian cadres, but as a result of the growth and development of the growth and development leadership.

ELIZABETH GLENN,
Los Angeles

Browder on Revisionism

(Continued from Page 1)
ous agreement between labor and capital.

Foreign Trade

When Browder comes to the question of foreign markets as a means of building up full employment he gives full vent, not only to the imperialist content of his revisionism, but also the spirit of irresponsibility with which his article is shot through. Browder's idea of increasing American exports, as he made abundantly clear in his book on Teheran, would be for the big capitalists of this country to launch a drive to develop an export trade of 40 to 50 billion dollars per year. The only way that even an approach to achieving this fantastic total could be made would be for American big business virtually to monopolize the export trade of the whole world. Not even the most blatant exponents of American imperialism have hitherto hazarded such a grandiose plan for realizing American world domination.

As against Browder's imperialist nonsense regarding exports, the National Committee, as part of its program for realizing minimum employment, or an approximation of it, definitely proposes that every effort be extended to develop American export trade, without reactionary interference in the life of other countries. To emphasize the importance of American foreign loans as a means of thus building up our export trade and to help bring about the economic rehabilitation of the world, I stated at the recent National Convention meeting that "The United States must, on pain of economic disaster to itself and the world, make available its great economic resources as a major factor in rebuilding the ravaged countries and to begin the industrialization of the more backward lands."

In spite of all this, however, we have Comrade Browder, in his article, making such irresponsible statements as that the National Committee believes "that a program for markets would only be an effort to help capitalism solve its inner contradictions, and this is not permissible," that "anyone who expects full employment is a damned fool," that "semi-Trotzkyist formulations on this question have been granted full freedom of circulation in our ranks and among our leadership," and more of the like. Browder's purpose with such demagogic is, of course, to hide the reactionary character of his own proposals and to blind the party membership to the constructive nature of the National Committee's resolution.

Doubling the Workers' Wages

In his article, Comrade Browder, dealing with the question of the expansion of the domestic market, has, at long last, come to repudiate his proposition that his "intelligent" capitalists in the postwar period would voluntarily double the wages of their workers. This is news, indeed! From the storm signals upon the present political horizon, even Browder, it appears, has been forced to see the nonsense of so ridiculous a proposal. His "intelligent" capitalists seem to have let him down.

But in a true Browder spirit, instead of admitting that he made a serious error in expecting such huge voluntary wage increases from the employers, Browder tries to wiggle out of the whole position and to blame it upon some one else. He says I caricatured his proposition.

But I am afraid he will not succeed in dodging this stupid error of his. The record is too clear on the matter. One of the most deplorable things in the history of our party was the agitation that Browder made to convince the workers that the bosses would hugely increase their wages voluntarily in the postwar period. It made us ridiculous amongst the workers, and certainly the capitalists, whose good will Browder was so servilely cultivating, must have guffawed at the silly idea. Never will I forget the sense of shame and indignation that I felt sitting at the Madison Square Garden meeting on Dec. 31, 1944, listening to the head of the American Communist Party shouting the

following drivel to the workers:

"Some extraordinary means must be found to double the capacity of the domestic market, and there seems no other way but approximately to double the buying power of the average individual consumer. How that shall be done we will not suggest at this time. We look forward to practical suggestions from the capitalists who must find the solution in order to keep their plants operating." (Emphasis mine, W. Z. F.)

No wonder that large numbers of workers, hearing this stuff, left the Garden in disgust.

The above quotation is only one example of the flood of such nonsense with which Browder filled our press at the time. Again, for example, in the Daily Worker of April 14, 1944, Browder tells us that the real wages of the workers must be doubled twice over; the first time in order to absorb half of the 90-billion-dollar shortage in purchasing power to reach wartime levels (the other half, he said, would come from exports), and the second time that the real wages of the workers would be doubled after foreign countries began to repay us in goods for their loans. And how was this "double-doubling" of the workers' wages to be accomplished? Well, as usual, it was the "intelligent" capitalists, following their "true class interests," who would do it. "We need to welcome every such sign of intelligence from the capitalists," Browder is quoted as saying. Then the Daily Worker goes on in its account of Browder's speech:

"Browder insisted that there must be no cynicism toward the capitalists in connection with the program he outlined."

Has Browder finally rid his mind of this incredible nonsense about the capitalists voluntarily doubling and redoubling the workers' wages? I doubt it very much, for the idea is part and parcel of his whole absurd scheme of the "intelligent" American capitalists, in pursuing their "true class interests," leading our country and the world into a capitalist Utopia.

Economic Crises

The way Comrade Browder handles the question of a postwar economic crisis is a characteristic piece of Browder double-talk. He starts out by citing Marx on the inevitability of economic crises "so long as capitalism lasts." Then (illustrative of how he has discarded Marxism completely) he proceeds to argue elaborately that an economic crisis after this war "is not inevitable." "It can be avoided," he says, "by wise, energetic, unified leadership which gathers all the available forces for the enforcement of correct policies. If nevertheless the crisis comes, it can be charged directly to the criminal stupidity, greed and irresponsibility of the capitalists who refused to carry out such policies. The responsibility for such a disaster will also be shared by all in the labor movement who insisted upon the doctrine of 'inevitability.'"

It may be stated that Stalin is one of those who thinks that an economic crisis after this war is inevitable in the United States, as he was quoted as saying in his interview with Eric Johnston in Moscow. Stalin, not Browder, is right in his forecast of an American post-war economic crisis. Our task in this respect is not, as Browder wants us to do, to spin capitalist Utopias and to fill the workers with illusions that American capitalism can overcome its most basic contradictions. Our job is to mitigate as far as we can the effects of the inevitable postwar economic crisis by adopting all practical economic measures to maintain the masses' purchasing power, to keep up the maximum of production, private and government-stimulated, to provide social security protection for the workers against the coming economic storms, and to teach the workers that socialism is the way to abolish economic crises.

A Synthetic Danger
Comrade Browder, in his article,

does see some political dangers ahead for us. And what are these dangers? Are they the imperialist plottings abroad of American big capitalists, or are they the growing employers' industrial and political offensive in this country? Of course not. In his article Browder does not apply a single word to American imperialism or to the urgent danger of reaction in this country. For how could his "intelligent" and "progressive" capitalists be a menace in such respect? No. Instead, he has made a great discovery. According to him, our party faces as its big peril the danger of syndicalism in its ranks! Elizabeth Flynn and myself are the culprits. We are going to liquidate the party into a syndicalist swamp, according to Browder.

As for Elizabeth, she was made a member of our National Board upon the proposal of Comrade Browder. So long as she followed Browder's line she was a great asset, with her big mass following; but now that she rejects Browderism she suddenly looms as a menace to us. In answer to Browder's sneers about Comrade Flynn, I would just like to remark that if he had even two percent of her experience on the firing line leading the workers in struggle, perhaps he would not now be trying to inflict his bourgeois liberalism upon our Party.

Comrade Browder levels his charge of Syndicalism against myself on the grounds that I have as my "supreme guide" and "infallible rule," a saying which he says I often repeat, namely, that "What is good for the boss is bad for the workers." This saying he denounces as "purest anarcho-syndicalism" and highly destructive in its implications.

Now I hate to stick a pin into this balloon which Browder has so carefully blown up; but in the interests of accuracy I must state that I have never used any such saying, now or in the past. The whole business is a typical Browder misrepresentation. The expression which Browder is distorting, and which I have often used in times of strikes and other sharp struggles, is the old maxim, "Find out what your enemy wants you to do and then don't do it." This is a very different proposition, indeed, from the one that Browder tries to put into my mouth. And I think yet, despite his fulminations, that it is a pretty sound point in strike strategy, in military strategy, and also often in political strategy as well. Browder's "Syndicalist scare" shows the lengths to which he is willing to go in order to confuse our membership as to the true character of his revisionism.

In Conclusion

Comrade Browder professes not to know what there is in his writings specifically, that Duclos criticizes. This is a difficulty, however, that the many writers in our Party discussion do not seem to feel very acutely, judging from the way they are tearing the whole Browder thesis to shreds. It seems to me, too, that Comrade Duclos did say something about Browder liquidating the Communist Party. The only way Browder, in his article, discusses liquidation and revisionism, however, is to apply these terms to the National Committee's policies. If the simile may be pardoned, Browder's maneuver on this question is akin to the dodge of the man who, chased by a crowd for lifting a purse, tries to confuse his pursuers by shouting "Stop thief!"

So far as Browder is concerned, our great Party discussion might just as well not have been held. For apparently, it has not dislodged a single major error from his mind. He still clings to his whole wrong political line. It appears to mean nothing whatever to Browder that, after a profound and prolonged discussion, our entire national leadership and the overwhelming majority of our Party have rejected his crass revisionism and endorsed the Marxist-Leninist line of the National Committee's Resolution. In answer to this, Browder multiplies his sophistical, factional and irresponsible arguments, thus showing his contempt for the political intelligence of our whole Party.

Isolation From Members Hurt Leadership

By AL LANNON

Maryland-Washington District.

As an alternate member of the National Committee of the CPA elected at its convention of June, 1944, and as president of the CPA of Maryland and the District of Columbia, I would like to register what I consider my responsibilities in connection with the opportunist and revisionist errors committed by our organization.

First as to my responsibilities as a member of the National Committee.

Here I assume my full share of the responsibility of that body for its wholehearted agreement with the opportunist and revisionist policies projected by Browder and for exerting every effort to line up the entire Party membership behind these policies.

I not only agreed wholeheartedly with these policies but fought for them to the very best of my ability. What's more, I am one of those people who had a lot of difficulty in understanding and accepting the criticism directed at us by Duclos and for a time tried to rationalize our past mistakes and avoided meeting the issues squarely.

In addition to the exposure of my complete lack of Marxist understanding in this situation my reaction was very subjective, first of all and mainly, because of my unwillingness to "take it," and secondly I had developed a deep distrust of some people who in my opinion are more interested in "jumping on the band-wagon" than in thinking things through to their bitter end.

I may be wrong, but the question that bothers me is what happened to these people between yesterday and today? Do they really think things through or do they just go along their sweet way from one "line" to another. I am not condemning a person for being more able than myself to more quickly see our mistakes and take steps to correct them. What does bother me is a certain glibness on the part of some of our National Board mem-

bers which makes me wonder whether we are going to get everything we want out of this discussion without intense personal evaluation of ourselves.

I've been criticized for my slowness in seeing the correctness of the Duclos criticism and the comrades who criticized me are undoubtedly correct. I believed in and worked for the wrong policies for a long period of time and I had to sweat, and sweat hard, to see that they were wrong because I wasn't "following the band" all this time.

There are some leading people who after the Duclos article began to strut around with the "I knew it all the time" attitude. This is a lot of unadulterated clap-trap because I remember these same people over a year ago advocating that we go even further and dissolve the Communist organization altogether and join the Democratic Party. These same people looked upon me with disdain when I raised the question from time to time that the key thing was to mobilize the workers around issues and I was practically accused of underestimating the need for "top deals." These people were the great Marxists who understood the line and I was just an ex-seaman who hadn't yet learned how to work.

Another point I would like to make in connection with my role as a National Committee member is that I honestly cannot convince myself that I have the same degree of national responsibility as the members of the National Board or even of those members of the National Committee who have been in active national leadership over a long period of time and who were close to the National Board in discussing and hammering out policy.

When I was elected an alternate member of the National Committee I was sure, and still am, that the projection of my name for the position was more in the sense of window dressing (seaman, worker, etc.) than an honest desire to bring me into active national leadership of the organization.

The only change that took place in my status as a result of my election was that I was able to attend a National Committee meeting one

year after the convention at which I was elected.

At this meeting I raised with a couple of Board Members that I would like to participate in the discussion but I did not know just how to do it and needed some help. The only answer I got was, "think the problems through and make your contribution."

What further confused me was the fact that almost everyone came to the meeting with a written speech which usually started out in this manner: "I agree wholeheartedly with Comrade Browder's brilliant report." These speeches were written before anybody even heard Browder's report. Before the discussions had hardly gotten underway, Comrade Trachtenberg would get up and announce that Browder's report was already printed and wanted to know how many copies we could take for distribution, and you always had to take twice as many as you originally asked for.

With the exception of the National Convention (where incidentally there "was not time" and I never got the opportunity to speak) my only contact with the National Board was one of the check-up on assignments given my district "voluntarily."

This contact was either in the form of mail or in the very brief "listening in" sessions where I was told what was expected of me on the various campaigns. Somehow there was never any time to really discuss problems many of which bothered me quite considerably.

The only exception to this was my talks with Comrade Hudson on various problems concerning the labor movement in my district. Comrade Hudson was the only National Board member who could, once in a while find the time to discuss problems without constantly and impatiently looking at his watch and reminding me that he was very busy and that I'd better get out.

Now as to my responsibilities as District President of the CPA of Maryland and D. C. Here I had to accept full responsibility for the ap-

plication of the opportunist and revisionist line of our national organization. I not only agreed with the policies but exerted all of my efforts to "whip" the District leadership and membership into line.

This was my approach throughout the whole period since that convention. I did not go to clubs to discuss with the comrades but rather to "tell them" and if questions of doubt were raised my approach was to "straighten them out."

What's even more serious is that because most of the District leadership was new my attitude tended to develop the same in the rest of the leadership and therefore their responsibility cannot be near as great as mine.

In my district I was the one who took the lead and carried through the dissolution of the industrial clubs. As I see it now this decision was part and parcel of a policy which denied the independent and leading role of the working class and placed reliance for leadership of the nation in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

Here too the approach was not to consult and discuss with out industrial comrades. The fact that our industrial comrades did not attend their community club meetings, became dues problems, etc., concerned us not from the viewpoint of trying to figure out what was wrong with our policies. Things reached a point where a regular witch-hunt was directed against our best mass workers, our trade unionists, by the entire leadership, district, city and club. The result was a dispersal of our industrial forces which reflected itself adversely in the labor movement.

In the application of our policy of all-out uncritical support of the Roosevelt administration I also developed the attitude that, whenever Roosevelt appeased the reactionaries, there was nothing wrong with Roosevelt but rather the labor movement was to blame for not giving him enough support.

When trade union comrades raised questions about the anti-union attitudes of particular company bosses I told them that in

order to change this the bosses had to be convinced of the good-will of the worker's side. This could only result in a policy of appeasing the company and hoping to change their "bad-will" into "good-will" rather than the organization of the workers for struggle.

When conditions became so unbearable in some industries that stoppages of work took place we condemned the workers as scabbing on the armed forces and demanded that our comrades do their utmost to get the workers back on the job.

Now, of course, the workers should not have struck and of course they had to be gotten back to work, not only in the supreme interest of winning the war, but also to prevent reaction from using such strikes to whip up anti-labor sentiment in the country as part of its drive to paralyze and destroy the labor movement. But if we had spent some time in ourselves learning and teaching the workers how to fight politically we would have been better able to guarantee maintenance of the no-strike pledge as a defensive weapon in the hands of the workers rather than as a club in the hands of reaction over the heads of the workers.

In conclusion one final point. I reacted quite subjectively when a comrade mentioned the fact that he thought the District leadership had lost contact with the membership. My first reaction was this was not true; didn't we meet with the clubs, wasn't I talking to members, many members every day? But on further thinking this question through I have come to the conclusion that the comrade was right.

Meeting and talking to the members, even if we meet with the entire membership every day does not necessarily mean that we have political contact with them.

Having live contact with the membership means not only meeting with them, but listening to them, discussing their experiences and learning from them. Contact with the membership is lost when we talk to them and work in such a way as to prevent freedom of expression and in this way demonstrate our egoistic unwillingness to learn from them.

Why Browder Got A Favorable Press

Dear Comrades:

I am grateful to Comrade Duclos for his brilliant Marxist analysis that exposed the revisionist tendencies which dominated our CPA. I am also grateful to him because his article was the instrument which helped, to a great degree, initiate our new anti-reformist policy. Yes, for this we can thank Comrade Duclos. But I am also cognizant of, and grateful for, the swift way our national leadership met the new situation and corrected itself and drafted, in the main, an excellent resolution with which I am in full agreement.

There is no doubt in my mind that this incorrect policy, if pursued much longer, would have resulted in havoc for our movement by liquidating the independent role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class. Little wonder the capitalist press fairly leaped to embrace "Victory and After," which Comrade Browder wrote about a year and a half ago. It was evident to the bourgeoisie then that Browder was revising fundamental Marxist concepts of class relationship.

Enough has already been clearly stated by others in this discussion concerning Comrade Browder's revisionist tendencies and how they led to opportunism, with the full support of our national leadership—except Comrade Bill Foster. So that the outstanding question in our minds today is: How was it possible for leading Communists to

swallow Browder's deviation from Marxism-Leninism?

In arriving at a correct answer based on real self-criticism, we must inevitably touch on some aspects of misapplication of democracy in our organization, which even Comrade Williamson omits in his otherwise excellent report to the National Committee meeting on June 18-20 and published in *The Worker* of July 1.

Can we accept the explanation that, because Comrade Browder exerted tremendous influence and prestige, he, therefore, affected the whole approach to the question of real Marxist self-criticism? Full discussion is only possible when comrades, unhampered, feel free to discuss. From the national leadership down to club leaders we must begin immediately to make democracy a live thing—not just for meetings, but from minute to minute, hour to hour, and day to day.

Only in this way can we quickly rectify past errors and galvanize our members into action as outlined in the resolution.

In closing I must point out what Comrade Amter makes very clear—that the old course must be changed, not by a rank and file revolt, which is an expression of anarchism, but by refreshing leadership wherever needed and by constantly being on the alert to uproot bureaucracy and develop collective leadership. This is the life blood of all Communist movement.

M. B.
Victory Club, Philadelphia, Pa.

At the beginning, let me say that the discussion on the political line of our CPA certainly has revealed one thing that I and some others have known for a long time. We have been suffering from a lack of proletarian democracy in our ranks. Not only do we see this in the suppression of Comrade Foster's position at the time of the dissolution of the Party but in many instances before. Coupled with this lack of democracy is a petty-bourgeois, mechanical, know-it-all, cock-sure approach to the problems of the workers.

The citing of the story about Antocus of Greek Mythology by Joe Austin is a very fitting one to characterize the lack of democracy and contact with the masses in our highest ranks. I only cite this long-standing condition in our movement because I believe it has some bearing on the present mistakes and departure from the correct theory.

Before going into our mistakes and Browder's position let me say something about the nature of our discussion up to now. Some of our people seem to go to the extreme right all out defense of Comrade Browder. Most of them, however, take the extreme left position, that we have gained nothing in the past year and a half, or at least they feel now we must make a complete change in line and nullify the gains of this period. This position I consider to be very bad, and, if persisted in, will harm our movement and cause a loss of contact with the masses. Comrade Browder gave us a masterful analysis of the relation-

ship of class forces, laying before us the correct perspective in his book, *Tehran—America's Path in War and Peace*. Where he made the mistake and where he departed from Leninism was placing our faith in monopoly capitalism as a class, to play a major role in carrying the Teheran agreement and United Nations policy into life. The inherent laws of capitalist development and its many contradictions make it impossible to place our dependence in them as a class, despite the radical changes in relationship of class forces and a stronger Soviet Union. As capitalism decays, the capitalists become more disunited with the working class growing more united and stronger. If the capitalists were united in this country as a class on a progressive program, we would have a national unity approaching that of the Soviet Union, but we Marxists know there can be no comparison between the two in this respect. Any other errors of Comrade Browder, and there are many as quoted by Comrade Foster, I believe flow from this incorrect application of Leninism to the present period.

In my opinion our work in the future will be for the perspective of Teheran, win the war against Japan, friendship with the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of world peace, national unity, reciprocal trade with all nations and upholding the living standards of the workers at home, etc. This is much in line with our program in the past period, except we should now

perform our tasks better, with the correct theory to guide us. Now the next question is do we need a change in the structure of our organization to carry out these tasks. As I see it, this doesn't matter too much whether we are an Association or Party as far as our immediate tasks are concerned. We know that capitalism cannot solve all the problems of the workers forever. We know that to make the change to socialism the working class must have its own party. In view of these facts, possibly we should take a long range view and reorganize the Party now, although we all agree that the change to socialism cannot be made in the near future.

Now, one more point on the matter of Socialist education. Here in my opinion we have failed in our duty. It is one thing for the people generally to admire the Soviet Union for the job it has done in the war. It is another for this admiration to be coupled with a real understanding of why they were able to do it. In getting that understanding, they must learn just what the fundamental differences are between capitalism and socialism. If the reasons for the success of the Soviet Union were sufficiently popularized among the masses, that in itself would be a weapon to prevent the capitalist class from pursuing that disastrous alternative of antagonism to the Soviet Union and repudiation of Teheran. I believe the need for education on the Soviet Union and socialism should have been stressed in the National Board resolution.

LEWIS HURST, Texas

No Faith in Decaying Capitalism

Forceful Analysis Of Errors Urged

I am a faculty member of the Personnel Training Dept. of the N. Y. CPA who with but few unexpressed doubts accepted and taught the revisionist policy of our CPA. This acceptance was based primarily on the uncritical respect for the unanimous opinion of our National Board, especially for Comrade Browder as "one of the greatest living Marxists." It was buttressed by statements from our leadership to the effect that it was part of a world policy as it applied to the USA. Never did I believe that "it created difficulties for the European Parties" as Browder belatedly apprised us.

Once accepting the idea that an unprecedented situation had arisen, it was not difficult for me to "understand the unprecedented theories" that flowed therefrom.

The many questions about our theories, the anxiety expressed in my classes, I attributed to insufficient understanding of the present course of world events. It never entered my mind that we were basically wrong.

However, the increased manifestations of reaction at San Francisco and elsewhere set me to wondering about the validity of our policy. The explanation based on the death of FDR, coupled with the general heightening of reaction after V-E Day, just didn't jibe with our policy—"Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace." Yet I had no other answer.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Duclos' article struck me as hitting the nail square on its head. It was a shock and a relief. It provided a realistic answer. I am glad it was made available to us. We certainly needed it.

Likewise, I agree with the National Board resolution. However, I would like to see it strengthened in several respects.

How could our National Board discuss the present situation as scientific Marxists without recognizing first its past mistakes? Part I, which deals with the present situation and our program, instead, should deal with our revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the role of monopoly capital, why we made this mistake and how we can correct it, at the same time recognizing Comrade Duclos' leadership as well as Comrade Foster's in this connection.

While it is true that "in the struggle for the establishment of the anti-Hitler coalition . . . for national unity . . . etc., the Communists have been second to none," (N. B. Resolution, Section 5, paragraph 4), nevertheless we should not compare ourselves with other organizations. Rather we should evaluate the good work we did do in spite of an incorrect policy in the light of the much better work we could have done with a correct policy. It would have been an obvious tragedy indeed if the Communist vanguard had not compared favorably with other groups. We must realize the enormity of our error. We cannot afford to minimize it in the least.

There is lacking a clear explanation of how we revised the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role of monopoly capital. In criticizing Kautsky's definition of imperialism, Lenin stated, "The important fact is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which he alleges is possible on this very basis of finance capital. According to his argument monopolies in economics are compatible with non-monopolistic, non-violent, non-annexationist methods in politics . . . The result is a slurring over and a blunting of the most profound contradictions of the latest stage of capitalism instead of an exposure of their depths. The result is bourgeois reformism in-

stead of Marxism." (Lenin—Selected Works, Vol. V, page 85).

This separation of the politics of monopoly from its economics was, in my opinion, our basic error. Probably it was the basis for accepting the diplomatic document of Teheran on its face value. We Communists who are opposed to the Vanguard of the working class were trying to show our class enemy how to overcome its inherent contradictions and how to gain longevity.

We used our past prestige as revolutionary fighters for the people, as well as the prestige of the CPs of Europe, to restrain the democratic, anti-fascist aspirations of the people. For example, the restrained struggle against Jimcrow in the armed forces; compare our struggle for the Scottsboro boys with the recent Mrs. Taylor case.

Foster's contention that Browder rejected proposals that labor be given adequate representation in the Roosevelt Cabinet as well as representation at all international conferences held by the United Nations;

the continuation of the no-strike pledge into the postwar era while carrying on a weak campaign against employer provocations and WLB weaknesses in settling workers' grievances.

The completely apolitical manner in which we carried out the clothing campaigns for Europe's anti-fascists. What a job we could have done on this issue alone to raise the general political level and cement the ties between the peoples of the US and the USSR, as well as the liberated countries.

We quoted the History of the CPSU re being bold in discarding outmoded propositions of Marxism. Never once, however, did I hear or say that such bold replacement must be "in accordance with the substance of the theory" (History, CPSU, pg. 356). We "boldly" replaced the very substance of Lenin's theory of imperialism!

The Resolution would be stronger, too, if it specified the strata or types of capitalists which have regrouped themselves into the most reactionary camp. In the past period many of us were led to believe that Kaiser and duPont were equally representative of the biggest monopolists. We need a clearer picture of the breadth of national unity as well as its limits. Moreover, we need a more precise indication of the form of our struggle in the present period. For instance, our demand for 60,000,000 jobs remains as before. Exactly in what way will we fight for it? Can we expect to achieve it completely under capitalism?

Finally, I firmly believe that the name of our organization should be changed to Communist Party immediately. It would evidence a deeper appreciation of our past revisionist errors and help us to overcome them more quickly.

Even though the entire policy making body of our organization is responsible for our mistakes, I make a distinction between Browder and the rest of the National Board. He is the only member of the Board who continues to maintain his opportunist position.

Comrade Duclos' article has been in his possession since May 20, if not before. The National Board must have discussed it quite thoroughly so that Browder had further opportunity to think through Duclos' criticism. Yet he voted against the Resolution. A whole week later he submitted in writing (Worker, June 10, 1945) the same revisionist position.

In this letter his position is quite obvious. The over-emphasis on the electoral activity of the Communist Party—the statement that "even a wrong answer is better than none," are simply not Marxian. Even his discussion on Soviet-American collaboration is outside the frame of the general advance of the working-class movement.

First, he continues to accept the Teheran declaration as a political

Points to Many Errors in Work

When the CP was dissolved and the CPA formed, many "convincing" arguments were presented to prove the correctness of such a step. I believe that life has shown us to be inaccurate in our judgment; also, that a reorganization now of the CP would be adding one error on top of another.

If we had followed a sound policy during the past one and one-half years, namely, if we had correctly estimated the role of the working class and its natural allies in a period of war in which a natural foe also participated for the defeat of Germany, it would have made little or no difference whether we called ourselves CP or CPA. This understanding would have been reflected in the daily work of the CPA and the neighborhood clubs would have continued to function as the vanguard within the national unity.

The various attempts that were made from the top leadership down to retain the CPA organizationally on a Marxian base fell flat because the quality of our work was such that it did not demand of us a strict Communist form of organization. In fact, the CP dissolution was a very logical step. The formation of the CPA fairly well conformed to the general program that we voted for at the beginning of 1944. We were so thorough in our (incorrect) programmatic approach that we did not overlook the form of organization that would carry such a program into life.

From my own personal experience I would say that the CPA very closely resembled a social-democratic organization during these nightmarish months that we are now reviewing.

For many years I have been a Communist and have learned to

appreciate the fundamental teaching that the strength of our movement lies in our unity of purpose and unity of action. Very often this means that even though we are very small in numbers (in my particular union we constitute about 1 percent of the membership) by all of us Communists backing a certain given proposition we can muster support far beyond our own numerical strength. But this presupposes that the proposition we are fighting for is a correct one; that it answers the needs of at least the majority of the members of my union; that truth being on our side we will all argue from different viewpoints, we will bisect the problem under discussion from various angles and the group of Communists will succeed in persuading the others to our position. Because we, the Communists, will bring to the organizations of the people not only the experiences that we accumulate together with our co-workers in our daily life, but the additional experiences that we have gathered through the education from and contact with the Communist movement as a whole. Therein I see lies our strength.

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But when we gave up some of the fundamental teachings that the world (and our own USA included) Communist movement had gathered, when we abandoned the very rich and precious wells of labor knowledge and experience—as we did when we closed our eyes to the fact that American imperialism was in the fight to defeat Germany as a dangerous rival and not because it was sincerely interested in wiping fascism off the earth—then on what base can we Communists act in unison in a local which has to deal

with employers who are these very same American imperialists?

Can we persuade the workers that these very same imperialists are going to help us establish an economy of full production—60 million jobs—when their employers were willing to take German prisoners of war into their factories (under the excuse of shortage of labor) rather than pay decent wages? Can we persuade our workers that their employers who refused to recognize the union will help us in the fight for the Wagner-Murray-Dingel bill, or for a democratic Germany?

We Communists were off base in our evaluation of the monopoly capitalists' role in this war and, consequently, we were not very persuasive; and, consequently, we also found ourselves not so well united. In my local we found one Communist arguing against another Communist first on big things and then on trivial matters, so that now there is no semblance of unity among us in this local. We don't represent any more the strength that comes with unity of purpose and unity of action.

A correction of our general policies; the adoption of a program for the coming period that will accurately reflect the needs of the day, will make it possible for us to operate through the CPA. In the course of pursuing a correct program we will have to make organizational adjustments so that as Communists we will be equipped organizationally to act in a disciplined and unified fashion. But the mere changing of CPA into the CP will not give us that guarantee.

E. S.

Joe Hill Club,
Kings County, N. Y.

Browder Discarded Marxism

The appearance of the Duclos article and the Resolution of the National Committee opened the gates of the revolutionary movement once again to return to the basic laws of Marxism-Leninism; the roots of fascism are in monopoly capitalism and imperialism is moribund. The working class is the leader of the toiling masses in their struggle toward Socialism.

In giving "Marxian" lessons to the capitalists on how to run their decaying system after the defeat of Hitler, in accepting "free enterprise" as indispensable to the well-being of society, in creating illusions about everlasting prosperity, Browder and the National Committee have forgotten that the decaying capitalist system is shot with the bullet holes of two world wars; as "respectable Marxists" they taught the working masses to tail the "intelligent" capitalists. Boastfully revising Marxism-Leninism to comply with "American conditions," Browder became the exponent of Bukharin's "organized capitalism" and Kautsky's "ultra imperialism" and drifted the revolutionary movement back to Lovestone's "American exceptionalism." (This opportunism could be traced to before the "Teheran Period"). On this basis a party of organized, self-disciplined, self-critical vanguard became an

obstacle; hence the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States.

Browder discarded the basic Marxist-Leninist teachings that the war is the result of the general crisis of capitalism and that the defeat of fascism in the military field neither destroys fascism nor solves the crisis (although the crisis is hidden in the war economy) of capitalism; he forgot that the victory over fascism was possible only because of the existence of the USSR and the politically maturing working class in the capitalist countries, together with the functioning of Communist Parties the world over, and farther that the section of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist world which has united

with the masses for the destruction of fascism and which worked for the Yalta and Teheran agreements, did not fear Germany. But it is their recognition of the invincibility of the USSR and the growing strength of the working class which was and is the motivating force of the "intelligent" capitalists.

Likewise, Browder's fear of anarchy and chaos in the postwar period and Bob Minor's "theoretical" explanation of same is another pea in their revisionist pot. They have no confidence in the toiling masses, they are unable to grasp the historic role that the workers are destined to play to protect, defend, build, and mould modern civilization.

Upon the dissolution of the Communist Party of the United States, the Communists postulated that the existence of a Communist Party constituted a threat in the struggle against reaction. It was hailed as a "master stroke" of Marxism. In my opinion, such capitulation to reaction has not stopped but helped the red-baiters, it has not armed the vanguard, but disarmed it. Marxist-Leninist firmness and tenacity of purpose were replaced by tailing of "practical every-day politicians."

While Comrade Browder must carry the greatest share of the responsibility for the revisionism, a National Board that can swallow opportunism hook, line and sinker for such a length of time, and can overnight turn in the other direction, needs to do some explaining. It would be good to hear from Comrade Bob Minor, who for two years has scolded everyone who disagreed with his "theoretical" nonsense. If the trade union work on the Pacific Coast reflects the situation on the national scene, then Comrade Foster and those who thought alike must share the responsibility for helping to foster opportunism with their silence. The draft resolution and the Duclos article shone out like a shining star on the American political scene. It is the greatest contribution to the American Communist movement since the "Open Letter."

M. R.

Pre-Convention

Discussion Ends

The pre-convention discussion is concluded with the opening of the National Convention. Therefore, this page in the Daily Worker ends with this issue of the paper.

Hundreds of letters are still on hand that were not printed. We want to assure all contributors to this page that all letters have been read carefully, all points noted, and will be included in the thinking and deliberations of the Convention. All recommendations and amendments to the resolution will be referred to the Resolutions Committee of the Convention, all proposals on organizational structure, methods of work and leadership will be referred to the various other committees. Thus the opinions of the members whose letters have not printed, due to the limitation of space, will become the property of the Convention.

Editorial Committee

Discussion Page

William Z. Foster

Eugene Dennis

Bob Thompson